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1844

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME XXXVI.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JANUARY, 1844.

Art. I. — EDITORIAL NOTICE.

Upon commencing a new series of the *Christian Examiner* the Editors may be allowed, or perhaps expected, to say a few words in explanation of the principles on which the work will in future be conducted. These principles are essentially the same that have guided the management of this journal in times past. We wish that it may still be the advocate of a liberal theology, and continue to vindicate the claims of practical religion. We intend that each number shall contain something which may address itself to the religious sentiment and to conscience, and may unfold the nature of the Christian life, while the character of Divine truth shall be exhibited and defended. We hope that the work may exert a quickening influence on its readers, and stir the heart as well as enrich the intellect. It will be perceived, therefore, that we do not mean to give it an exclusively theological character.

Theology however will hold its place in our journal, and this, we conceive, should be a prominent place. Every denomination must have its theology. Religion must be viewed on the side of the intellect, as well as of sentiment; it must have a doctrinal basis. Persons may for a time be

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satisfied with feeling, with excited sensibilities, or with vague impressions, but in the end they will ask for clear and distinct views of religious truth, in which their minds may rest. They must have ideas as well as feelings, they must exercise intelligence as well as belief; reason must see firm ground on which to stand. Besides, the advance of the human mind, the progress of science, never greater than now, and the new aspects which the various subjects of thought are constantly presenting, render it impossible for theology to occupy an unchanged position, or to remain enclosed within the petrifactions of the past. It must be alive; it must from time to time explain itself; it must grapple with the problems of the age; it must seek the kernel and marrow of great truths; "it must prove all things," that it may "hold fast that which is good."

Believing that a large portion of the community, and most certainly of those who will receive the *Examiner* into their houses, participate in these views of the importance of theology as the strength of correct sentiment and the foundation of a holy life, we cannot doubt that a due proportion of articles containing a full and thorough discussion of questions, which from their intrinsic character or from circumstances of temporary interest acquire prominence in this department of thought, will be acceptable to our readers; and such we shall endeavor to furnish. Articles of this kind, also, it may not be improper to remark, must from their length be excluded from our other religious journals, and will therefore find their most suitable place in this work.

Still we intend to give to theology only its due space. Other subjects, more or less remotely connected indeed with this, will receive the attention they may claim. Articles discussing the great principles of personal religion and social morality, and articles bearing upon Christian history and literature, will be sought from those who are best qualified to prepare them. These also may be thorough, and yet retain a character that shall adapt them to the great body of intelligent and inquiring readers. Questions which affect society in its moral relations we can never think foreign from the purpose of our journal. Politics we shall eschew, but do not mean to deprive ourselves of the right to bring public measures to the standard of that religion by

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which public as well as private life, and national not less than individual action, should be controlled. The charge of partisanship in respect to any of the plans of benevolence which may be presented to the community we shall not be eager to draw upon ourselves, but neither shall we seek to avoid it by silence or equivocal language. Controversy we do not covet, but if occasion arise, we hope to be found ready to defend the faith which we prize next to the immortal soul for whose salvation and perfection that faith was given.

With the longer and more elaborate papers which we shall present to our readers we hope to furnish short articles, that shall give greater variety to the *Examiner*, and yet shall concur in producing the same effect, — the growth of an intelligent and earnest religious character. The union of the *Monthly Miscellany* with the *Christian Examiner* will justify our attempting to give a more popular cast to the work, by the insertion of pieces not less grave in sentiment but lighter in form. The change will not, we hope, displease the old friends of the *Examiner*. It seems to be demanded by the present taste, and has been urged upon us from various quarters. Our object will be to combine, in every number, two or three articles of solid excellence and permanent value with such articles of less laborious preparation as may be suggested by the immediate state of the public press and of public sentiment. We shall endeavor to give, under the head of Notices of new publications, some mention of every work proceeding from the denomination to whose interests this journal has been and will still be devoted, with occasional remarks upon publications coming from other sources. A very brief division of Intelligence will record ecclesiastical occurrences in which we feel most interest, with other religious or literary matter which we may collect for the same department, and a short obituary record will enable us to mention the deaths by which our churches may be bereaved.

In a single line, therefore, we may say, that it will be our purpose to exhibit the relation of Christianity, as we understand it, to the thought, sentiment, and practice of the age. We are Unitarians, and our journal must contribute its influence to the elucidation and diffusion of Unitarian Christianity. But we trust it will never betray dogmatism,

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nor speak with bitterness. The application of the Gospel to the intellect, the heart, and the life — to the individual and to society — to the church and the world — is the problem which all sound thinkers and good writers, which the philosopher and the philanthropist, are alike concerned in bringing to its true solution, in the actual relation which Christianity shall be made to hold with all the wants and ways of humanity; and to the solution of this problem we wish that the *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* should contribute its part.

We may add that we undertake the charge of this work with the hope that it may be made a means of drawing into a closer union the members of our own body. We wish it to be considered the journal of no part of the denomination, but to be welcomed and used by all its different members. We shall be glad, if by allowing freedom of discussion and excluding only what would render our journal a mere collection of contradictory opinions, we may secure the approbation of our various friends. In regard to the admission of articles it is sufficient to repeat, that the leading views of our denomination will be sustained. But it is well known, that on several points there is some diversity of opinion among Unitarians, as there must be in every denomination which is faithful to the great Protestant principle of entire freedom of thought and expression. This diversity of opinion we are not only willing, but desirous should appear on our pages. We wish that the *Examiner* should be regarded as an organ through which the strongest and best minds among us may speak, and speak freely.

Of course, the Editors do not pledge themselves to insert every article which shall be sent to them. They claim the right, always exercised in the management of a public journal, of rejecting what is not suited to the purpose and character of the work under their charge, or is deficient in the requisite literary merit, or breathes a tone not in harmony with the spirit of Christian love, or is marked by any other defect or peculiarity which in their judgment renders its publication in the *Examiner* not desirable.

Exercising the liberty of inserting articles that shall express various opinions, we shall not feel ourselves bound to defend all the views that may be presented by writers whose communications we may admit. This we say once

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for all, to prevent misconception, and to preclude a responsibleness which we do not mean to bear. The initials of the writer being given, the credit or the burthen of the article rests mainly with him, and the opinions avowed are his opinions, and not necessarily the opinions of the Editors. There are certain principles which may not be violated; the work must possess a certain tone and character. This consistency requires. There must be a unity controlling diversity. But this is not incompatible with variety of opinion and criticism; and it is such an exhibition of diversity under a larger unity, which, we think, gives life and interest to a work of this sort, and, all will admit, is far better than a dead uniformity. We believe that all the principal Journals and Reviews of the day, and more especially those in which the initials of the writers are given, are conducted upon this view of editorial responsibleness.

We might add, therefore, that while we hope the *Examiner* will represent the belief and sentiment of the denomination, individuals rather than the denomination must be held answerable for the opinions that may be advanced in its pages.

We need say nothing more — we trust we have not said too much — of the purposes we entertain and the principles by which we shall be guided. If we seem to magnify our office, let it be remembered what a place the *Christian Examiner* has always held in the public estimation. We are anxious that it should not lose the regard which it has enjoyed or the influence which it has exerted. For twenty years has it spoken in behalf of Christian truth, and through that whole period it has preserved consistency and dignity in union with liberality and ability. Thirty years ago the *Christian Disciple* began its work of "speaking the truth in love," under the care of that apostolic man, Dr. Noah Worcester. In 1819, "on an extension of the original plan," it passed into the hands of other conductors, and a new series, under the title of the *Christian Disciple and Theological Review*, took up more directly the task of "defending controverted religious truth," and of expounding what was then little understood. In 1824 it was thought best "to adopt another title for the work, though without any considerable deviation from the plan" which had been previously followed, and the *Christian Examiner*

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and Theological Review took the place of the *Christian Disciple.* In 1829, a new series was commenced, and the title was changed to *Christian Examiner and General Review.* In September, 1835, a third series was commenced, and new efforts were made to extend its circulation, though its plan and character continued the same. In September, 1842, some changes were made in the appearance and arrangement of the work, though still in continuation of the third series. Rev. John G. Palfrey, D. D., the late Rev. Francis Jenks, the late Rev. Francis W. P. Greenwood, D. D., Rev. James Walker, D. D., and Rev. William Ware, have been successive or associate editors through these several years. The present editors trust that a journal, which comes to them with such associations of interest from the place it has filled and the men by whom it has been conducted, from its connection with the history of the Unitarian denomination in this country through the whole course of that history, and from the character which its articles have always borne, will not suffer detriment in their hands, but will still be regarded with a favor which it shall continue to deserve. We ask the assistance of writers, and shall try to gain the approbation of readers, laboring, most of all, "to testify the Gospel of the grace of God," and to promote the spread of truth, holiness and love.

The first number of the year has formerly been published on the first of March. We have thought it best to begin with the year. Our present number therefore bears the date of January, and our second number will appear on the first of March.

We take this opportunity to ask the authors or publishers of works which should be noticed in this journal to send a copy to our office. We would especially urge this request in regard to sermons and other pamphlets, of which we might not otherwise be seasonably informed.

A. L.
E. S. G.

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Art. II.—ON THE SIGNS AND PROSPECTS OF THE AGE.

We wish to offer in this paper some thoughts on the great controversy of the age, and in particular, some reasons why we believe that the cause of human welfare is gaining ground amidst all the perils of the time.

We would not be thought to give utterance to a mere sounding sentence, when we say, that in the history of the world there never was a time when all thinking minds were so pressed to the contemplation of a Providence over nations, as at the present moment. Human affairs seem to be approaching, if not actually passing through another of those great crises, which determine the fate of after centuries. To us, we confess, it appears, if we may venture to express our thought, like the winding up, the last act, in the great drama; to be followed by a thousand millennial years, or by ages of disaster and blood. All the grandeur of a momentous epoch is foreshadowed to us in the future, and with a form the most distinct, though less exact in time. Less violent and tremendous, less wild and tumultuous than the overthrow of the Roman empire; less brief and bloody than the French Revolution; the coming change will spread itself over a wider theatre and through remoter times.

What is the great controversy, on which this change is turning? It is the controversy about freedom; freedom political, social, religious. The conflict of men's minds already rages around this point. The warfare of opinion, long since predicted, has come; and we are in the midst of it. Nor ought it to surprise us. One single element introduced into the bosom of modern society warranted, and has fulfilled the prediction. That element was popular education. Everything was sure to follow from that. Every school, every printing-press, every book, every newspaper, gave omen and certainty of the result. Whoever likes this result, whoever likes it not, one thing is clear; nobody could help it. If it offends us, that men should ask for more freedom, for freer government, freer and fairer action of society and more independent exercise of opinion, let us go back to the true cause of offence, education. Nay, truly, we should go back one step farther, to be consistent, and find the original offence to be human nature

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itself; and the very creation of it, a mistake! So true it is, that hostility to human freedom cannot stop short of impiety; and in fact, of atheism.

But now, that in this natural, enlightened, human tendency to freedom there are perils, is not to be denied. Peril ever goes hand in hand with progress. It is greatest, where man is greatest; that is, in his spiritual relation. It can be reduced to nothing; but only by bringing down humanity to the level of animal instinct. In short, this element, danger, *must* ever mingle with the action of imperfect natures, and it is for courage to meet and master it, not to succumb and sink beneath it.

This heart-sinking, however, is a striking feature of the present time. Within a few years past the party to fear has been growing apace, and is stronger at this moment perhaps, than it has been at any time since the world was temporarily shocked and alarmed by the outburst of the French Revolution. Even in America this party is strong; and in Europe, of course, it is far stronger. The retrograde movement of the English Church is partly of this nature, and even in the little republic of Geneva the same thing is witnessed. In England indeed it has connected itself with High-Church principles, and has proceeded farther than any conversative or panic movement of the day. But it is not merely in the Church that this fear is found, nor in the courts of absolute monarchs, nor in the pledged ranks of legitimacy, but in the secluded studies of philosophers, in the minds of many liberal thinkers. Many such are to be found who have, in fact, given up the cause of modern freedom; who have relinquished their high hopes and aspirations; who have fallen back upon the single prayer for security; who have come to the sad conclusion, that the world, that human nature is not good enough to be free. We have sat in the studies of such men and have listened to their mournful discourse. 'We had thought better things,' they said; 'we had hoped better things; but it was all a dream. No, it will never do. Innocent beings might have liberty; angels may have liberty; but men are not fit to be free. No; a strong, even an oppressive government must we have; one that will hold in check the struggling elements of our wild, reckless, depraved humanity.' Nay, not to speak of particular instances, we have

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thought in general, that the liberal party in Europe, under the combined influence of disappointment and exasperation, is, at this moment, a harsher judge of the popular tendencies, if possible, than any other party. Even in Americans resident abroad, as well as at home, in those whose position called for a faithful support of their national principles, we have found a deep-seated distrust of them. On every account, therefore, this subject demands from some pen a thorough consideration; a more thorough one, doubtless, than we can now give it. And yet we have thought too, that in the present emergency the humblest mind, if it have any thing to offer, might justly throw its contribution into the scales of this great controversy.

We proceed therefore, to point out some of those signs of the time that seem to us to warrant good hope and confidence.

In the first place, then, it is a good augury, that this is a war of opinion, and not of force. Concessions to the popular cause are bloodless. There seems to be a feeling abroad in the world, that this great controversy is to be decided, not by arms, but by arguments; that the only force to be relied on, is the force of opinion. What the people demand, is not blood, but reform. They know that violence will not help, but must hurt their cause. They know that reform, from its very nature, must be gradual. They can wait. They have waited. They will wait. They have a habit of waiting. This has been most remarkably evinced, during the last twenty years, all over Europe. Every body sees that the popular cause must advance slowly. There is a tremendous weight of institution, usage, prejudice and actual power against it. It must take a long time to bring down the mountains and raise up the vallies; it is like changing the visible face of the world. It must be a work of toiling patience. There are no crises in it; at least none such as bereave men of their judgment, and drive them, maddened and despairing of other resource, into the conflict of arms. In short, the warfare of opinion, while it can be kept such, is one on which we can look with calmness and hope. We have that confidence in human reason, that we have in the individual mind. Give it light; give it freedom; give it a chance; and it will rise to truth, virtue and happiness. He that thinks it will not,

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surrenders the cause not of freedom alone, but of humanity and of God.

In the next place, the intelligence that has brought on this controversy is every where powerfully pleading the cause of truth and order. The mass of intelligence has not gone over to the wrong side, but is on the right side. Look at England, at France, at Switzerland, at Germany, at America. The great names are on the right side. The strong men are *not* demagogues. If it be true that opinion propagates itself from the higher minds to those beneath, here is a principle and pledge of safety, a power that will always bring back the many from their temporary aberrations. It is not as in the French Revolution; when the most powerful minds were hurrying the multitude to misrule and madness. Let any gross and monstrous injustice be proposed to be done now on a large scale, such as the repudiation of the national debt of England or the spoliation of a privileged class, and we believe that the world would hear such a burst of indignant and eloquent remonstrance as it never heard before. Great reliance, it appears to us, may be placed on the cultivated intellect of the world in an age when opinion, not the sword, is the all-swaying power. It is naturally cautious, conservative, averse from violence, distrustful of popular impulses and afraid of brute strength. Would this intellect of the world fairly place itself at the head of the popular movement, truly sympathizing with what is right in it, and thus enabled to restrain what is wrong, it would fulfil a glorious office, and one ever to be rightfully demanded of superior intelligence. But if it will not take the lead of the age; if, instead of guiding the chariot of the morning, it will forever hang on its wheels, we may take the comfort of reflecting that it is a powerful safeguard of the world, if nothing better.

In the third place, that better reliance, the religion, the faith of the world, is not dying out, as is often alleged, but is growing purer and deeper and stronger. We must dwell upon this topic a little; for in truth, the allegation, if it can be sustained, is fatal to all hope.

We have always been hearing, ever since we could read, of the decline of religion, and the dying out of faith. And not faith only, but all reverence, all enthusiasm, all poetry,

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eloquence and liberal art, it is said, are giving way before the rude step of utilitarian vulgarity and an iron materialism. A decadence of genius; a dead faith and a dead Christianity; a poor, barren, lifeless Church, shaken by the hands of a hundred contending sects; a weak, inert, unwieldy creed, fast sliding down to the gulf of utter oblivion; an old, decayed, nerveless authority, whose sceptre is just dropping into the clutching hands of a mad and reckless multitude; such is the picture of our time, with which not a few persons entertain their fancy and adorn their pages.

This complaint, we might say, carries with it its own refutation. A dead Church would be scarcely so alive to its condition. A prevailing materialism would be found to be a much quieter thing, we imagine, than the dissatisfaction that is now stirring in the bosom of all communities. No; when Christianity dies, nobody will know it! When that majestic presence passes away, it will pass unquestioned, unchallenged, unseen; for then will the spiritual eye of the world be closed in midnight slumber!

But what, then, is the truth in regard to the matter of this complaint? This we hold it to be; that creeds, dogmas, formulas, implicit reliances, unexamined opinions, are losing their hold of the world — but not faith. It is the failure to make this discrimination that we object against the able and eloquent chapter of Jouffroi on this subject; the chapter, we mean, on skepticism in his Lectures on Moral Philosophy. It is true that faith in the lower sense, superstitious faith, nursery faith, Church faith, is losing ground, is losing vitality; but of the higher, the genuine Christian faith, we deny that this is true. So of all lofty aspiration, of poetry and enthusiasm, it may be truly said, that they have changed their form, but not that they have lost their power. They are not aroused at the clash of arms, at the Crusader's call, at deeds of chivalry or shows of kingly grandeur, as they once were. We do not think that they pay the same kind of homage even to great and noble men as formerly; the homage is less reverential, more hearty, as we judge. But assuredly we may ask without fear, — when, ever since the world stood, was such a flood of enthusiasm, of sympathy poured into all the channels of universal human well-being? We do not believe that the admiration for noble architecture, for beautiful paintings

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and statues, is failing in the world — not at all; but we are certain that the admiration for noble hospitals, for comfortable asylums to receive the blind, the deaf, the insane, the forlorn and miserable, for institutions of learning and education, from the lofty University to the lowly Sunday school, is growing and spreading in the world beyond all former example.

The present state of the world in regard to faith may be illustrated, we think, by the condition of many individual minds in it. Many of us know, doubtless, what is to be understood by a decay of old *faiths* in our minds. The impressions of our childhood, the teachings of our catechisms, the dogmas of our earlier creeds, have, to a certain extent, been yielding and giving way before maturer examination and better lights. To all free and intelligent seekers after truth this result is inevitable. To maintain the contrary of this, would be to aver that our manhood is no wiser than our childhood. But we know too, that all this while our confidence in eternal truth, in vital religion, in essential Christianity, has been growing deeper and stronger. And is this, then, to be represented as a decay and a dying out of faith in our minds? And yet this is a type of what Jouffroi calls a decline of faith in the world.

In truth, it was the latter part of the last century that might bear, more justly, the burthen of this reproach. Now, there is every where a reaction against the coldness and skepticism and scorn of the last century. We see it in science; how much more reverential and alive to spiritual truths, than in the days of Buffon and La Place! We see it in philosophy; which takes its point of departure, not as it did a century or two ago, from the outward world, but from the inward world; not from the facts of sensation, but from the facts of spiritual consciousness. We see it in ethics, in moral essays; compare Coleridge and Taylor and Channing, with Addison and Steele. We see it in poetry; how much deeper is the spiritualism in Southey and Wordsworth, than in Pope and Dryden! But especially in religion, strictly so called, there is the most manifest reaction. We find it in various parts of Europe. We find it in France; least and last to be expected there. For France seemed determined, at one time, to solve the problem whether a nation could live

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without a religion. Yes, and the problem *has* been solved, in the teeth and to the mouth-stopping of all its infidel boasts. The regeneration of faith and piety has commenced in that country, with most striking and encouraging omens. The Protestants are arousing and combining for the propagation and protection of the Reformed Religion. It is a remarkable fact too, in connection with the Protestant effort, that Bibles are circulated, by special agents appointed for that purpose, all over France. But the most striking indication of this change, perhaps, is seen in the resurrection of crushed, despised and neglected Romanism in that country. Two years ago we found the Catholic churches of Paris, unlike what we had witnessed ten years before, crowded with worshippers; and we heard from their pulpits constant and familiar allusions to the great reaction. It was to us a striking fact, during the same winter, that a peer of France, in his place in the Chamber, came out with a strong denunciation of the Government and country for their neglect of religion, saying that it was the basis of everything sound and good in a State and in society, and that as France had departed from that ground, she was suffering calamities, and continuing to swerve from it, must expect to suffer them. It was a strange language to hear in the Chamber of Peers. It was a high and solemn protest against the experiment which France had made to live without a religion. At the same time, we found the Archbishop of Paris, in his annual New Year's address to the King, urging a stricter observance of the Sabbath, and denominating the Queen, on account of her piety, "the tutelary genius of her family." Of a similar character is the attack of the Bishops upon the University of Paris. Whether justified by circumstances or not — whether Cousin and his brother professors are or are not infidels and atheists — it is certainly a very remarkable onset of religion upon philosophy.

To take a wider view, for a moment; the Catholic religion is everywhere arousing itself to new efforts; doubtless with the intent in part to recover its lost powers and provinces, but certainly in a spirit accordant with the lights and claims of the age. Thus we find its leading writers admitting that in the time of the Reformation there was need of reform, and only maintaining that that reform should and

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could have taken place in the bosom of the mother Church. In Rome we found, last winter, Sunday schools in every church, and free schools in every street. Mr. Laing states in his Journal, that there are 14,000 children in the common schools of Rome, under the care of 485 teachers; not a small number certainly in a population of an hundred and fifty thousand. In Lent, we observed that the religious instruction of the children was the *daily* care of the churches. We often saw groups of children passing through the streets to the churches; a small wooden cross, the emblem of Christianity, borne by one of their number, to lead them to the holy place; and when assembled there, we saw them in apparently the most happy and affectionate intercourse with the priests and catechists. It was a striking thing to witness; in the broad aisles of St. Peter's, beneath those majestic arches, amidst that marble world of magnificence — the music of the vesper hymn floating through its solemn domes, and kneeling worshippers all around — to witness, we say, these companies of children gathered within temporary palings; the lambs of the flock in the fold of the shepherd; not gazing with innocent wonder upon the splendor around them, but rather with a look of gay unconsciousness, like that with which we, grown up children, stand amidst the majesty and music and wonder of the earth and sky.

In the last place, let us consider, not merely the corrective and saving principles of the age, but the positive results at which it has arrived; manifested in the increase of comfort, the spread of happiness, and the elevation of virtue; and springing from the advances of mechanic art, philanthropic enterprise, and a gradual reform in the whole ideal of life and duty. And these results, too, have not come out of the bosom of chance, but out of the freer mind and freer heart of the world.

There is one power then, much misapprehended, seemingly inert, at most material, which is helping and heaving the world onward, and that is the power of mechanism. Promotive of human comfort, knowledge and intercourse, diffusing these blessings beyond all former example, it must be a power for good — a power friendly to justice, freedom and happiness. It is a power without passions; it works with the certainty of fate; and it is a lever strong enough to

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lift the world. In the war of opinion, we hear of many obstacles, many foes to the right, to justice and freedom. We hold the locomotive steam-engine alone to be an argument good against them all. It is a battering-ram to beat down all the barriers of caste, of prescription and oppression. But it will not beat down alone; it will bear, through the breaches it makes, knowledge and comfort, over the wide realms within. It is like the wheel in Ezekiel's vision, ay, a wheel in the midst of a wheel; and "I looked and behold," says the prophet, "a great cloud, and a fire unfolding itself, and a brightness was about it; and it ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning." The locomotive engine is the very type and fulfilment of the promise, that "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

It were making but a poor and literal induction to say, that the age grows more mechanical, because mechanism is increased. In fact it grows more spiritual. Such, at least, is the natural tendency of mechanic invention; and that by a very obvious process. First, it takes off the pressure of labor. That is the primary object of all mechanism; to relieve the toiling hand. The hoe, the spade and plough do that; but the cotton-gin, or the steam-engine enables one hand to do the work of hundreds. But we hear it said, that labor is not relieved. Nay, we answer, the amount of product being the same, it is relieved. What then? Next then, we say that mechanism multiplies indefinitely the comforts of life; and with the increase of comforts, not luxuries, we believe, that usually the mind's freedom and culture rise. At any rate, it is plain that if the production of comforts and conveniences stood where it did a hundred years ago, the pressure of toil *would* be lightened. If the demand for comfort has kept pace with improvement in the arts, nay, and has even surpassed it, that, we hold, is not a degrading, but an elevating tendency. Individuals, classes, may temporarily suffer; but the mass, in the long run, must rise.

Is it, however, an unreasonable anticipation that the time will come, when art and labor together will obtain the complete ascendancy; when art will so help labor as effectually and inevitably to relieve it? There must be some limitation to physical comfort. There must come a time, when there

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can be no better fabrics for apparel; no more nor better furniture for our houses; no more nor any more perfect accommodations for travelling; no more ministrations to comfort of any sort. But to art, to improvement, there is no limit. We confess therefore, that we do not feel ourselves chargeable with any extravagant anticipation, when we see the labor of some future time accomplishing all that can be demanded of it, by the devotion of six hours in a day.

What then shall be done with the surplus time? This brings us to another point; and we say that mechanic art ministers to the promotion of knowledge. What is wanting for the high intellectual improvement of mankind? Time to read, and books to read. Art will give both. It will give leisure; it will give some hours every day for reading. And it will give books at so cheap a rate, that they will come within the reach of all. But we check ourselves; we are not to draw upon the future. Nor is it necessary. Books scarcely need be or can be cheaper than they are now.

What a change has the printing-press wrought! There have been times when an estate was bartered for a manuscript volume; when a hundred crowns of gold were pawned for the loan of it. A book of homilies, that could now be printed for two or three shillings, once cost a Countess of Anjou, we are somewhat minutely told, two hundred sheep, a quantity of martin skins, and we know not how many bushels of wheat and rye into the bargain. We read of a poor grammarian who rebuilt his house, that was burnt, with two volumes of Cicero. And now works as voluminous as those of Cicero, could be bought in this country with the labor of two or three days. The lever of the printing-press is, in the world of mind, the very lever of Archimedes; it will lift the mind out of the sphere of all past imagination.

One further point under this head remains to be noticed, and that is the tendency of mechanic inventions to enlarge human intercourse.

The arrival of steam-ships in this country from England, some years since, naturally and powerfully excited the public mind. In fact, it opened to us a new world. This grand achievement of mechanic art is undoubtedly to make a new world. It is to bring all nations into neighborhood, and we trust, into amity. The Atlantic and

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Pacific seas are hereafter to be but great bays, and all around their spreading shores the chain of intercourse is to extend, and to bind cities and countries together.

One tendency of this new communication will be, we say, to bring to an end the bloody wars that have desolated the world. It will not be easy to enter into these destructive conflicts with neighbors and friends; and these must more and more become the actual relations of different countries. We know that there have been *civil* wars, and that they have been among the most relentless and sanguinary. But the truth is, that people of the same nation have had less acquaintance and sympathy with one another, than the people of different nations will yet come to have. Besides, as has been observed by a distinguished statesman, all defences of cities and shores must become vain and useless before the activity and force of steam-vessels. They can penetrate into all inlets, estuaries, bays and harbors, at all times; and thus war at sea, as well as war on land, is likely to be destroyed by that which has enabled it to destroy nations — the perfection of its own tactics.

The extension of intercourse, too, must be beneficial, by keeping each nation informed of all the improvements and better modes of thinking that prevail among the rest. Human thought, the grand improver, shall now have utterance. The winds of all seas and all shores shall take it up and bear it over the world. It shall no longer sleep in the wise man's study, or brain. It has been said that there has always been wisdom enough in the world, could it have been expressed; that diffusion was what even the dark ages needed, more than light; that enough knowledge was sequestered in obscure laboratories and dim cells, to have renovated the world, could it have had the potent aid of the printing-press and the rail-road and the steam-ship. But now shall it be diffused; and if men do not see, it shall not be for the want of light. But was light *ever* opened to the eye, and the eye did not turn to it? Never. Then shall men see, and learn, and grow wise.

We do not regret nor dread, that our own country shall, by this means, be better known. We do not regret that the waves of the Atlantic are bridged over, and that the curtain of the wilderness is lifted up, and a theatre here opened on which the eyes of the world shall look. If the

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great experiment which we are making here, on the basis of a free state and a free religion, is to come to naught, the sooner the world knows it, the better. But if, as we believe, this experiment is to come to a happy and glorious issue; if it can help, happily, to settle the questions that are agitating, and may yet rend the bosom of Europe; if a nation can be free and sober — can be free and self-restrained — can be free and happy; ay, and can improve under this condition beyond all former example; then is it meet that the world should know this to be true; then is there no knowledge of the human condition in the world, so important as this very knowledge. May our American example — and we say it with no personal exultation, but in humility; nay, and in the solemnity and depth of prayer do we say it — may our American example go forth to be a light and a blessing to all mankind!

The next great feature of the age is philanthrophic enterprise. This is one of the positive results of the new principles that are now abroad in the world. Can that be a very dark age on which such lights are thickly rising? We will not point them out in detail. We will not tamely enumerate the charitable institutions of our time; but we ask triumphantly — what class of our unfortunate, suffering, and hitherto neglected fellow-beings has not come under this humane consideration? What wanderer upon the sea, or upon the land, doth not Christian pity now follow and offer to relieve? We are speaking of the general direction of philanthropy, and of classes of men too in general, and so speaking, we say — who now in the world is pining in hopeless and forgotten misery? Who is blind, and the hand of mercy is not stretched out to touch his eye-lids and make him see, or to supply by all possible means the destitution of sight? Who is deaf and dumb, and that hand hath not clothed itself with skill to devise for him the means almost of speech and hearing? Who is in prison, and his gloomy cell hath not been visited — not as of old, with the despot's prying eye, through loop-holes, to gloat upon his misery — but visited to make comfort and correction go hand in hand to reform him? Who is there that hath had the light of reason stricken from the watch-tower of life — and that hath said, when he felt that light to be departing from him, 'Oh! pity me,

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and use me gently!' — who that is such an one, hath not had the oil of gentleness poured into the wounds which the galling chain had made? And again; what land hath not been visited by the Christian missionary? And how many at home, who sat apart, in the cheerless and long unvisited dwelling of poverty, have heard a voice, strange and almost startling — strange and melting in its tones — the voice of brotherly sympathy and counsel! Almost, might we think, there is a second advent of mercy into the world. "The blind receive their sight and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them."

But the greatest enterprise and the most hopeful omen of the age, perhaps, is the Temperance Reform. Here is a moral miracle. A nation, a world was fast sinking into the gulf of sensual perdition. How stupendous, and almost hopeless, must have seemed to the first reformers, who stretched out their hands to stay that downward course, the work they had undertaken! But they entered upon it; they went forward; and what is the result? Within five years the entire conscience of the world, of the Anglo-Saxon world at least, is penetrated; a new sentiment, a new fear, a new set of moral maxims is wrought into the heart of nations; millions have joined in this work, — for we do not reckon the pledged men alone; new laws have been framed, new legal restraints devised, new domestic usages have been introduced; and it may be hoped that the plague is stayed. We do not intend in these remarks to make ourselves responsible for every proceeding that has been adopted in this reform. What most strikes our attention and fills us with astonishment, is this, — that such an impression in behalf of morality could have been made upon whole countries, in so brief a space of time. It is altogether more surprising than the effect produced by the preaching of Peter the Hermit. The Crusades to the Holy Land, which he recommended, were entirely in accordance with the warlike, chivalric and superstitious spirit of the age. But here, our reformers have made head *against* the settled habits and, often too, the incensed passions of the people. If *this* could be done, *any thing* can be done. The success of the Temperance cause, is a signal and glorious pledge for any thing

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reasonable and just, that good men may desire to undertake.

In this representation of the philanthropic labors of the day we have had no desire to exaggerate. We are sensible of many defects, and some dangers in our benevolent systems. We believe that they have yet far to advance in their wisdom and efficiency. But still we must say that this is a most extraordinary spectacle—the philanthropy of the world, awaking and arising to remove all evil, to relieve all sorrow. In such an age, and in regard to such an age, we cannot be cynics. We cannot sit down in some dark corner, or amidst old habitudes of thought, and find nothing to do but to bewail the evils of the time. No; we must rather thank God, that we live to see a day like this. Amidst all the beneficent principles and agencies, and all the benefited classes around us, we must thank God, and take courage.

We have spoken of a gradual reform of the whole ideal of life and duty. Have we not fallen upon new times in this respect? Are there not many who are saying, 'Life is a new thing to us; labor is a new thing; business is a new thing; the world is changed; other heavens are spread over us. If we could have taken these views in our youth, how different would have been to us the whole course of our existence?' All this has come from better knowledge, from wiser teaching; and the next generation will grow up under that better teaching. The world will not always be looked upon as the dwelling-place of a being who finds it only tedious to live and hard to die; the mean abode of the drudge and slave, or of the idler and voluptuary; but it will yet come to be regarded as the theatre of lofty energy, of noble heroism, of a spiritual and sublime action. That action indeed is to be wrought out through a struggle with sense and matter, through daily labor and patience and endurance; but for all that, it is none the less spiritual, and all the more sublime. A Utopian dream this may be accounted, we know. Be it so accounted; still we say, let it be ours. But we do not dream. Human nature cannot always stand, where it stands now. Not always, did we say? Not at all. It is essentially in a state of transition. This perhaps is the most remarkable feature of the time. The powers that move it lie deeper; but this is the most noticeable result. The complaint of a dying faith and a

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dead church was far more just twenty years ago, than it is now. The world, we say, cannot stand still; with so many powers of knowledge and spiritual action to urge it forward, with six thousand years of painful experience to teach it, with all God's promises as pledges for its progress.

There are better teachings, we have said. The preachers are growing wiser. We remember the time, when the aged and venerable divine to whom we listened thought it sufficient to occupy a whole sermon with a minute description of the building of the Tabernacle, without one word of moral application, deduction or comment of any sort. Since that how have certain doctrines — Decrees, Election, Human Inability, Perseverance of the Saints — silently dropped from their place in the pulpit! And now we are told that an indiscriminate inveighing against the gayeties and amusements of life, is beginning to give away before more reasonable ideas of human duty and happiness. But the preachers are not the only teachers now. We scarcely hear a lecture in a Lyceum, upon any practical interest, but it has something moral and religious in it. We heard lately a Discourse introductory to a Course of Law Lectures, and it closed with an earnest exhortation to the students and young practitioners to make their Sunday reading religious, and especially recommended, as food both for their minds and hearts, the noble old English divines — Barrow and Taylor, Leighton and South. Public speakers, in fact, on all sorts of occasions — the National Anniversary, Temperance Celebrations, and many others — are becoming preachers. Great indeed, is the company of them; and great must be the effect.

In fine, we believe that a higher ideal altogether — of religion, of duty, of human worth, dignity and greatness — is entering into the world and taking its place among those mighty powers that are to mould and shape the future. Christianity indeed held that ideal in its bosom, but could not spread it effectually, till general education and enlightenment had provided a medium for its diffusion. The great *idea* of the True and the Right has ever been struggling on and advancing through the mist and darkness of past ages, but now it has "a free course and is glorified." Hermits, anchorites, monks have had their day; professional religion and technical philanthropy have had their day;

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the priest, the statesman, the warrior, the monarch has been great; but now we have come to learn, that *the man may be great;* that he who stands in the common path of daily duty may live a high, holy and heroic life. The *mass of mankind* are laying claim to the highest honors of humanity; and they will soon challenge princes and nobles to the lists. Christianity indeed has always been saying that it had honors to confer on man, nobler than earldoms and principalities; but we have not believed it. Our Christian devotees and fanatics have seized upon the idea, and have constantly falsified it by placing it upon the narrow basis of their own technical sanctity. Men have not felt it to be true. But now is not this idea coming up on broader grounds and with a deep-felt reality? Let it come, and it will be the advent of a new era. Let the slave become greater than the master, the serf than the lord, the peasant than the prince, and universal man greater than isolated and aggrandized man; and towering distinctions and high-seated oppressions shall topple down to make way for the broad grandeur of humanity. Nay, and to bring the matter nearer to ourselves, let the humbler classes, as they are called, become as intelligent, cultivated and wise as those who are above them — and to this all our education systems, our Lyceums and lectures are tending — and a social revolution shall be effected to which all political revolutions are mere forms, or mere instruments at the most; the artisan, the tradesman, the toiler, shall find his way into carpeted saloons; and it shall not be thought remarkable!

This is no doting fancy of dreaming enthusiasts and book-men. There is no matter of fact in the world more real than this tendency of our present thinking, to elevate the mass of mankind to higher virtue and to higher honor. And every ideal of every sort, that is seated in the heart of the world, is clear and authentic prophecy of what is to come. It will fulfil itself.

The very thought, the very hope of progress, is the most certain omen of progress. And that thought is deeply seated in the heart of the world; it is most familiar to the mind of the age; and the age, the world will never let it go. No reform now is deemed impossible; no enterprise for human improvement, impracticable. Every thing may be made better; the veriest conservative admits that. All

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the mental activity of the world converges to that point. It is the very point of the wedge, which the whole power of cultivated man is now driving into the long-accumulating mass of human ignorance, error and wrong. Nor is there any indifference about this great task of the age. Discontent with the present, sorrowings over the past, mingle with the hopes of the future. Man, universal civilized man, is rising in his might, and is ready to say, 'This burthen of old injustice and inhumanity, this heritage come down from erring and suffering generations, I will bear no longer!' God help thee, great human brotherhood! brotherhood in the griefs and woes of the past, and in the prospects of the future! Be not discouraged. The prophecy is in thy heart, and shall be fulfilled. Nay, and it is echoed back in the voice of holy prediction; "the voice of him that cried in the wilderness" — yes, that cried out from the dark wilderness of the past — "saying, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

"For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it!" This one further, final reason we have for hope, though all other reasons failed us; *we believe in God!* We believe in Him, as the Creator and Governor of the world. We believe that his designs for the world are benevolent. In all nature we read that language; in holy writ we see its impress; and its seal we find in the sufferings, for the redemption of the world, of the Son of God. To all discouragements, to all alarms, to all predictions of evil, we say, WE BELIEVE IN GOD! O. D.

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ART. III. — THE THURSDAY LECTURE.

[A Discourse preached in the First Church in Boston, December 14, 1843, on the occasion of resuming the Thursday Lecture after its suspension during the repairs of the church. By REV. ROBERT C. WATERSTON.]

AFTER a separation of no brief interval it is pleasant to meet once more under this consecrated roof. Many of us have looked forward with joy to this assembling of ourselves together, and so much the more as we have seen the day approaching.*

The historical associations connected with this Lecture are of the most interesting character. They are connected with days of privation and peril, of trial and triumph. They remind us of "sayings of old, which we have heard and known, and which our fathers have told us."

The first record which we have of the Thursday Lecture takes us back to the days of the Pilgrims. Mention is made of it as having existed at this early date both by Cotton Mather and by Governor Winthrop. If Peregrine White (who was born on board the Mayflower, November 1620,) had attended the first Thursday Lecture, he would have been a lad thirteen years of age; and had he continued to attend it through his life, he might have enjoyed this privilege seventy years.

The origin of the Thursday Lecture in this country is dated from the ordination of Mr. Cotton, who was settled, as associate with Rev. John Wilson, 17th of October 1633. Cotton Mather, the grandson of John Cotton, says, "if Boston be the chief seat of New England, it was Cotton that was the father and glory of Boston." Cotton studied at Trinity College, where he was greatly distinguished for his scholarship. He afterwards became a minister in Boston, Lincolnshire, in the diocese of the Bishop of Lincoln, where he lived in intimate friendship with the noble Earl of the same title. He was here held in high esteem, and was generally surrounded by young students from Holland and

* The text of this Discourse was taken from Hebrews x. 25: "Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another; and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching."

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Germany. He was an earnest and powerful preacher, and in addition to his Sabbath labors he had a Lecture every Thursday, at which multitudes thronged to hear him. Thus beyond the ocean, under the Gothic arches of St. Butolph's, was commenced a service which afterwards, when transplanted to a new settlement, became famous in the eventful history of the country, and which did much in moulding the institutions under which we now live.

John Cotton, with his independent spirit, could hardly hope to escape persecution in his own land, and he was finally compelled to fly for safety. In 1633 he crossed the ocean and landed in New England. His fame had flown before him, and the infant plantation gave him a kind greeting. He was a man of profound learning and varied acquirements. Mather tells us, "he had the most remarkable faculty of any man living to meet every occasion with pertinent reflections without ever wandering out of sight from his text." Governor Winthrop, in his Journal of 17th September, 1633, says: "The Governor and Council met at Boston, and called the ministers and elders of all the churches to consider about Mr. Cotton, his sitting down. He was desired to diverse places, and those who came with him desired he might sit down where they might keep store of cattle; but it was agreed, by full consent, that the fittest place for him was Boston, and that, keeping a Lecture, he should have some maintenance out of the Treasury."

On the 4th of March, 1634, Governor Winthrop says, "By order of Court, a mercate was erected at Boston, to be kept upon Thursday, the fifth day of the week, being the Lecture day." Thus we find the Lecture alluded to in 1633, and spoken of as already established in 1634.

In honor of John Cotton, who came from Boston in Lincolnshire, our city derived its name; and the ability of the same divine caused the influence of the fifth day service to be felt through all the civil and ecclesiastical interests of the Province.

Being acknowledged as one of the most illustrious men on this side of the sea, all gathered eagerly around him that they might listen to his exhortations. At these services subjects of the highest moment were discussed, and often at the close were left open for public debate. We have accounts of meetings at which Endicott and others took

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part. The schools of the town were during half of this day closed, and the inhabitants looked upon the occasion with marked respect. Many came in from the neighboring towns. The civil magistrates, the Governor and Council attended. The President and officers of the College, together with the students, were often among the hearers.

John Cotton continued to officiate at this Lecture until his death, which took place in December, 1652, "on the day, yea, at the very hour of his constant weekly labors in the Lecture, wherein he had been so long serviceable even to all the churches of New England."*

But at Cotton's death the doors of the Lecture were not closed.† Through successive generations the service was continued, and for more than a century after, its influence was felt to be no less important than at its origin.

Allen, in his Biography of Norton, the successor of Cotton, says, "a good man of Ipswich used frequently to walk to Boston, then a distance of about thirty miles, to attend the Thursday Lecture, and would say, that it was worth a great journey to unite in one of Mr. Norton's prayers."

Chief Justice Sewall, who died January 1, 1730, mentions in his private journal, with what deep emotions he first arose to set the tune at the Thursday Lecture. And he also speaks with much sensibility of his relinquishing this practice many years after, when (by reason of advanced age) he detected himself, after having set one tune, falling into another.

It would, no doubt, appear somewhat singular if from our day we could look in upon that serious assembly. There stood the old thatched meeting-house like a wooden tent, while at its threshold many a three-cornered hat was lifted from a powdered head, and scarlet cloaks were seen gliding up the aisle.

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* See Mather's Magnalia, Edt. 1702, Book iii. p. 24.

† Cotton Mather in his life of John Wilson, Magnalia, Book iii. p. 46, has the following curious notice: "The Great Lecture of Boston, being disappointed of him that should have preached it, Mr. Wilson preached that Lecture on a Text occurring in the Chapter that had been read that morning in his family. Jer. xxix. 8. — 'Neither hearken to your dreams, which you cause to be dreamed;' from whence he gave a seasonable warning unto the people against the dreams wherewith sundry sorts of opinionists have been endeavoring to seduce them. It was the last Boston Lecture that ever he preached." November 16, 1665.

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In 1679, instead of one church there were three. The population of the town had increased, and, we need hardly add, there were some religious dissensions. The fifth day service had until this time been conducted by the Pastor and Teacher of the old congregation. But now it was considered desirable by some individuals, that other voices should be heard. An order was therefore passed by the Magistrates, that "all the Elders of this towne might joyntly carry on the fifth day Lecture." On the Records of the Church stands the following reply: "In answer to y^e^ Hon^ed^ Magistrates about the Lecture; Tho as an injunction wee cannot concurr with it, but doe humbly bare our witnesse against it, as apprehending it tending to y^e^ infringement of Church Libertie: yett if the Lord incline the hearts of the other Teaching officers of this towne to accept of desire of our officers, to give y^r^ assistance with those of this Church, who shall bee desired to carry on their fifth day lecture, wee are willing to accept theire help therein."

Thus we see "a reasonable jealousy of political interference," and yet a willingness to acquiesce in a measure which would bring new powers "to aid in this venerable work."

Other services and objects of interest now began to take from the Lecture its relative importance, so that it did not occupy that conspicuous place in the public mind which it did in the days of its more ancient glory. The first intimation that history gives of this is in April, 1697, when Cotton Mather "gave notice,* that the Lecture would from that time begin at 11 o'clock, instead of 12, and reproved the town's-people that they attended no better; and declared that it would be an omen of their not enjoying the Lecture long if they did not amend."

We have some little knowledge of the state of things in regard to this Lecture in 1715. The clouds had looked dark and threatening, and on Thursday the 26th of January there was a vehement snow-storm with the wind driving from the northeast. Chief Justice Sewall made his way through the drifts of snow, and when in the old meeting-house, he not only set the tune, but counted the worshippers, and he tells us that "the number consisted of but sixteen women and two hundred men."

* Chief Justice Sewall's MS. Journal.

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For sixty years after this period the Lecture was constantly sustained, with the exception of two months in 1734, when it was omitted every other week, on account of a lecture at Cambridge. Thus did it go on until 1775, when, during the siege of the city, it was for a time, with reluctance, suspended.

I find, by a memorandum of Dr. Eliot's,* that this year the Lecture was generally preached by Dr. Samuel Mather, Messrs. Lathrop, Hunt, Adams, Bacon, Gordon, Howe, Dr. Cooper, Dr. Eliot, Dr. Chauncy, and Dr. Langdon, President of the College. On the Thursday preceding, and the Thursday following the battle of Bunker Hill, the Lecture was held as usual. On the day preceding Dr. Eliot preached, and on the week following Dr. Mather preached. Thus amid the shouts of war did this service speak with its "still, small voice." Through five months of painful trial the Lecture was only omitted five times; and during that period was alternately preached by Dr. Eliot and Dr. Mather. By the middle of November the difficulties became so great, that on the 30th of that month the Lecture was brought, for a season, to a close.

In an Almanac of that date which belonged to Dr. Eliot, and in which he regularly recorded his doings, he says:

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* Dr. Eliot preached at the Thursday Lecture for the first time, August 5, 1742.

I find from Dr. Eliot's papers, that from 1740 to 1780 it was the custom, on occasions of public sorrow or joy, to turn the Thursday Lecture into a Fast or Thanksgiving, and that at such times there were often services both morning and afternoon. Such memoranda as the following are found: — "1744, June 28th, Thursday Lecture turned into a Fast on account of ye war and ye Earthquake." "1745, February 28th Fast especially on acct of ye expedition ag. Cape Breton." "July 18th Thanksgiving on acct of ye victory at Cape Breton — all day." "Sept. 19th Fast on acct of war with Indians." "1746, July 10th Fast on acct of expedition to Canada." "July 24th Dr. Sewall preached the Thursday Lecture to 3 poor malefactors who were executed in the afternoon." "1746, August 14th Thanksgiving on acct of ye victory of ye Rebels." "October 2d our Thursday Lecture was turned into a Fast on acct of ye war. Mr. Mather began with prayer, Mr. Foxcroft preached, and I concluded with prayer. P. M. Mr. Hooper began with prayer, Mr. Prince preached, and Mr. Byles concluded with prayer." — Some readers may be interested in the following statements: "March 20th, 1760, an amazing fire from Cornhill to Fort Hill; the confusion was such that the Lecture was omitted." "January 1st, 1761, Mr. Cooper preached a funeral sermon for King George 2nd." "March 12th, 1761, Mr. Cooper preached, at about 2½ o'clock there was considerable shock of an Earthquake."

On December 15th, 1743, precisely 100 years before the day on which the present discourse was delivered, the Rev. Dr. Cooper was buried. The Thursday Lecture on that occasion was preached by Rev. Dr. Sewall.

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"Nov. 30. T. L. The attendance of this Lecture being exceeding small, and our work greatly increased in other respects, Dr. Mather and I, who, since the departure of our other brethren, had preached it alternately, thought proper to lay it down for the present. I preached the last sermon from those words in Rev. iii. 3: 'Remember how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent.' An affecting occasion, the laying down a Lecture which had subsisted more than one hundred and forty years. The small congregation was much moved at the consideration."

In order to show the state of things during this period, it may not be improper to give some extracts from manuscript letters written by Dr. Eliot, who so devotedly stood by this Lecture in the day of peril. These letters have never before been published or presented to the public. April 25, 1775, he writes: "This town, which by the late cruel and oppressive measures gone into by the British Parliament, is now almost depopulated, or will be in a few days. Filled with the troops of Britain, and surrounded by a Provincial army, all communication with the country is cut off, and we wholly deprived of the necessaries of life; and this principal mart of America, is become a poor garrison town. The inhabitants have been confined to the city more than a week, and no person is suffered to enter. At length the General hath consented that if the inhabitants would deliver their arms, they should be suffered to depart. This proposal, humiliating as it is, hath been complied with. In consequence of this agreement, almost all are leaving their pleasant habitations, and going they know not whither. The most are obliged to leave their furniture and effects of every kind, and indeed their all, to the uncertain chance of war, or rather to certain ruin and destruction. The last week I thought myself in comfortable circumstances, had a convenient dwelling well furnished, a fine library, attended by a large, affectionate and generous congregation. Now I am by a cruel necessity turned out of my house, must leave my books and all I possess, perhaps to be destroyed by a licentious soldiery; my beloved congregation dispersed, my dear wife retreating to a distant part of the country, my children wandering not knowing whither to go, perhaps left to perish from want. Myself soon to leave this devoted capital, happy if I can find some obscure corner which will

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afford me a bare subsistence. I wish to God the authors of our misery could be witnesses of it. They must have hearts harder than adamant if they did not relent and pity us. * * * Great Britain may ruin the colonies, but she will never subjugate them. They will hold out to the last gasp. They make it a common cause, and they will continue to do so. In this confusion the college is broken up; nothing is talked of but war. Where these scenes will end God only knows, but if I may venture to predict, they will terminate in a total separation of the Colonies from the Parent Country." On May 31st, 1775, he writes: "I have remained in this town till this day much against my inclination. Most of the ministers being gone, I have been prevailed with to tarry to officiate to those inhabitants who are still left. But my situation is uncomfortable to the last degree. Friends perpetually coming to bid me adieu. Much the greater part of the inhabitants gone out of the town; the rest following as fast as the General will give them leave; grass growing in the public walks and streets of this once populous and flourishing place; shops and warehouses shut up; business at an end; every one in anxiety and distress. The provincial army at our doors. The troops actually confined in this town, which is almost an island and surrounded by ships of war, which is its greatest security. There have been two or three little skirmishes, in which has been verified what I wrote some time ago; that our people would certainly fight. The advantage hath hitherto been on the side of the Provincials, and it is not improbable to me, that if they attempt the town, they will carry it, for they are numerous and very determined. These things you will easily believe keep us in perpetual alarm." On April 9th, 1776, Dr. Eliot writes as follows: "When I wrote you last I did not dare to write with any kind of freedom, lest what I wrote should fall into the hands of our then masters, which would have exposed me to their resentment, which I greatly feared, for their wrath was cruel. I cannot repent my having tarried in town, it seemed necessary to preserve the very face of Religion. But nothing would induce me again to spend eleven months in a garrison town. We have been afraid to speak, to write, almost to think. We are now relieved, wonderfully delivered. The town hath been evacuated by the British Troops, so suddenly,

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that they have left amazing stores behind them, vast quantities of coal which the inhabitants have been cruelly denied through the winter, cannon and warlike stores in abundance. Great numbers of the friends of Government, as they are called, are gone to Halifax, crowded in vessels which will scarce contain them. What will become of them there, God knows, the place is full already. This inglorious retreat hath raised the spirits of the Colonists to the highest pitch. They look upon it as a complete victory. I dare now to say, what I did not dare to say before this, — I have long thought it, — that Great Britain *cannot* subjugate the Colonies. Independence a year ago could not have been publicly mentioned with impunity. Nothing else is now talked of, and I know not what can be done by Great Britain to prevent it. I did not care in my last to mention the contempt thrown upon our places of worship. The Old North pulled down. Dr. Sewall's made a riding school for the Light Horse, the inside totally destroyed. Dr. Cooper's, Mr. Howard's and Dr. Byles' turned into barracks without any appearance of necessity. Mr. Moorhead's filled with hay, Mr. Stillman's made a Hospital. Such conduct would disgrace barbarians. I am quite sick of armies, and am determined, if possible, never to live in the same place with any considerable body of forces. I find a committee of the Overseers appointed at the motion of the General Court to examine the political principles of those who govern the College. The President is in haste to move the students to Cambridge. The buildings are in a shocking condition, having been improved for barracks. The Library and apparatus are safe at Andover. The soldiers are all gone from Cambridge to the Southward, where they expect the seat of action will be. Dr. Warren's body hath been brought from Bunker's Hill, and was buried yesterday with all Military honors and those of Masonry. It was carried from the Representatives' Chamber to the King's Chapel, and Dr. Cooper prayed. Mr. Morton delivered a spirited oration, wherein he publicly urged an entire disconnection with Great Britain. This is the fashionable doctrine, and I again say that I do not see that Great Britain can prevent it. When she rejected the last petition of the Congress, it was all over with her. I attended last week a meeting of the Overseers and Corporation at Watertown, for the first time since our en-

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largement. We voted General Washington a degree of LL. D. He is a fine gentlemen, and hath charmed every body since he hath had the command."

Boston was evacuated by the British troops on the 17th March, 1776; and immediately the Thursday Lecture was resumed. The streets resounded with triumphant acclamations. The officers of the American army, and Washington himself, attended the service. Dr. Eliot preached, and gave a deeply interesting and eloquent discourse appropriate to the occasion, from Isaiah xxxiii. 20: "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities; thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down." This sermon contained a particular address to General Washington. The sermon is not now to be found.*

Thus Washington, after the signal success which had attended his measures and the eminent services he had rendered his country, here received the congratulations of his fellow-countrymen and before the altar of God bowed with them in gratitude to heaven.

For twenty-three years from this date did that great and good man live to be the guide and glory of his country. Washington died December 14, 1799, and this is the anniversary of that memorable day. Sixty-seven years have passed since Washington, with the officers of his army, was present at the Lecture, and forty-four years ago, this very day, in his residence at Mount Vernon, did he peacefully breathe his last.

Here we may properly close our allusions to the past history of this Lecture. The memory of some who are present will take them back nearly to that period. The former house of the First Church stood on the spot occupied at this time by Joy's Buildings, in Washington Street. It was of the same model with the house in which the first society in Hingham now worship. The whole lower story of the old State House was at that time open for a promenade,

* According to Thacher, Dr. Eliot was requested by Washington to give this discourse. His account is as follows: "His Excellency the Commander in Chief has been received by the inhabitants with every mark of respect and gratitude; and a public dinner has been provided for him. He requested Dr. Eliot, at the renewal of his customary Thursday Lecture to preach a Thanksgiving sermon, adapted to the joyful occasion. Accordingly on the 28th, this pious divine preached an appropriate discourse." — *Thacher's Journal*, p. 51.

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and on Thursdays, after the Lecture, the ministers generally met in that area.

One of the brethren now present preached twenty-six Lectures in the old meeting-house. Fifty-five years since he repeatedly walked from Dorchester to attend the Lecture. There were then fewer who attended the Lecture than at the present time.

Ten years ago, at the close of the second century from the establishment of this Lecture, an appropriate discourse was delivered in this place by the honored pastor of the First Church. It was listened to with deep interest by many, and will long be remembered in connexion with this day.

It is a fact somewhat interesting, that not only in Boston, but also in Salem a weekly Lecture was established from the earliest settlement of the country; and that, although it has long been discontinued, there is still a day in the week known to the inhabitants of that place as "the Lecture day." This Lecture was connected with the church now under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Upham, and over which at one time the celebrated Roger Williams was settled as Pastor, and afterwards Hugh Peters, that statesman and scholar, that eloquent divine, that noble Puritan, who finally fell as a martyr of civil and religious liberty. In looking over the Church Records in Salem I find the following vote on the books of the First Church, dated December 25th, 1718, being Thursday: "Voted, that the Brethren of this church will speedily consider of some proper method to revive the Lecture in this place, and when they are prepared, a number of them shall repair to the Pastor and pray him to call a church meeting further to prosecute the vote." At this time the Rev. Samuel Fisk was pastor. His course of conduct did not give entire satisfaction to his people. They called a parish meeting, and one of the solemn charges brought against him was, that he had abandoned the Lecture. This charge was posted upon the church door; whereupon, on the following Sunday, the Rev. Samuel Fisk preached all day upon the subject. Out of this grew a controversy which lasted thirty-seven years, and which ended in the division of the church.

Worthy and interesting as is the duty of commemorating the past, such recollections would be of little avail if they

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did not lead us to renewed efforts in the present, and inspire us with brighter hopes for the future.

We are determined not only to praise this Lecture, but to perpetuate it. It will not, it cannot die. The past speaks through it, the past lives in it, and the present may speak in it and live in it also. Though venerable in its antiquity, it may yet be fresh with the vigor of youth. Why should we let the institutions of the past die out? If they are good, why should we not the more faithfully support them on account of their having been established by those who are gone? Does it awaken no emotion to feel that on this day, two centuries ago, our ancestors assembled at this service? Is there no hallowing influence in the thought, that on this day and at this service multitudes, long since passed into rest, listened to the eloquence of the apostolic fathers of New England? Here stood the patriarch Wilson, the first pastor of Boston. Here Cotton pleaded with holy faith and fervor. Here were the voices of Norton, and Baily, and Wadsworth, and Bridge, and Allen, and Mather, often heard. Here did the venerable Davenport preach, who was invited, in connexion with Cotton, to the great Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Here Oxenbridge paused in this very Lecture to be carried to his death-bed. Here also labored, as we have seen, Eliot, and Lathrop, Hooper, and Langdon. Here stood Chauncy, as the defender of the faith, the bold and consistent advocate of the principles of the Reformation.* Here, in later days was heard the voice of Buckminster; and here too have we listened to those who have so recently departed, Channing, and Ware, and Greenwood. Oh! that once more those inspiring voices might be heard at this altar! But we will remember the last words of one, who, with his loving spirit illuminated by faith, said, before he left us, that the Church above and the Church below might be intimately united. Yes, we will believe it. Those who have labored in the cause of truth, and have made their influence felt here in times past, may

* Jonathan Mayhew, who for independence, scholarship, patriotism and piety must ever be numbered among the distinguished of the clergy of New England, was not connected with the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers, and therefore took no part in preaching the Thursday Lecture. He established a Lecture of his own, and many of the discourses written for these occasions were afterwards published, and are among his ablest productions.

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be around us as a cloud of witnesses, and may rejoice at every new effort here made to establish the kingdom of righteousness.

We may well value this Lecture as a monument and memorial of the past. Many, like the Athenians, are asking for something *new*. New societies, new institutions, new measures, and new views are springing up all around us. It is refreshing to find something *old*; something that has the relish of antiquity, the venerableness of age; that was born before we were, and has been sanctified by the love of other generations. While men are sweeping away so much before them, let us save this one relic as a legacy for our children.

We will not value it the less because it originated under the Gothic arches of a Cathedral in Lincolnshire. But that for which we will value it the most is, because it was transplanted in the days of the Pilgrims, and was the fruit of the Reformation. It breathed forth the spirit of the Puritans, and was associated with their noble struggles.

We, as a Christian Communion, are the legitimate followers of the Pilgrims. Our churches are planted upon the principles of the Reformation. The Sovereign of England declared in 1662, that "the principle and foundation of the Charter of Massachusetts was liberty of conscience."* This concession of the Massachusetts Charter seemed to those who sought spiritual freedom like a summons from Heaven inviting them to America, where the Gospel might be taught in its purity, and where each one might be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. "Puritanism, zealous for independence, admitted no voucher but the Bible — a fixed rule, which it would allow neither parliament, nor hierarchy, nor king, to interpret."†

The churches established by the Pilgrims are to this day the faithful representatives of the Reformation. Their spirit has been transmitted. Liberty of opinion, the right of private judgment, the sufficiency of the Scriptures without dogmas and creeds, where are these most clearly advocated? The First Church in Plymouth, the First in Salem, and the First in Boston, are united with us in the

* Bancroft's History, Vol. i. p. 344. Document in Hutch. Coll. 378.

† Bancroft. Vol. i. p. 279.

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simple primitive faith. The first covenant used by the Pilgrims, in the church at Plymouth, is so pure and so liberal, that it might be used by us all. It is a bond of fellowship and love, and has no shackle for the mind. It is worthy of the friends and flock of John Robinson. And thus are we the true representatives of those men and of their sublime principles. Upon the very altars which they built the sacred flame yet burns; and we are here united in a service commenced by them. It connects us to them as by a living tie. It is the chain along which has been transmitted, from generation to generation, the divine fire that glowed in their bosoms.

It is dear to us, because it was dear to them. It is dear to us, because it binds us to them. It is good for us, because it speaks to us as from them, and tells us to go on. As the immortal Robinson exclaimed to those on board the Speedwell, "I charge you before God and his blessed angels that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ; for the Lord has more truth yet, to break forth out of his holy word." In this Lecture I hear the echo of that voice. It still speaks from him to us.

This Lecture is good as a bond of union between Christian ministers who are bound by no papers or parchments, who are not frozen together by Edicts, but knit together by living affections. Here is an opportunity for each one in his turn to suggest truth to the brethren; to bring forward some view connected with the welfare of the Church, or the well-being of society. Why should not those who exhort others, be themselves urged to faithfulness? Why should not the young who have entered the ministry, listen to the counsels of the old? The privileges presented in these Lectures are felt by many to be precious, and I verily believe that the hours passed here will be remembered by many with deep feeling to the day of their death. Seldom can we listen to our fellow-laborers in the ministry save here, and as one after another shall be called away, will not those who are left remember with some emotion the words which may here have been uttered?

But if these Lectures are good for the preacher, they are good for the people. If the ministers of the Gospel are to assemble, they will be quickened by the presence of

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others. We hear of many who crave for sympathy, — *we need* sympathy too. Let this church every week be thronged, and it will be found that the spirit of our fathers is living yet! There are sixteen churches in this city whose pastors are connected with the Boston Association of Ministers. If it were generally considered by those who attend these churches that they might add life to the Lecture by their presence, are there not enough every week to fill this church? Let those who take pleasure in the house of God, come up hither to unite in devotion. Let those who ask for multiplied meetings, use well those they have. Let those who cling to the past, cherish this remnant of antiquity. Let those who seek for reform, reform those who absent themselves from this service. Let the merchant leave for an hour his merchandise, that he may spend a short season in holy contemplation. Let the student close his book, that he may listen to the living voice. And the teacher will bring here his best words and utter his highest wisdom. Here will the thoughtful unfold highest knowledge. Here will the devout breathe forth supplications. Here will the benevolent speak of a Divine philanthropy. Here will those who have come from the chamber of sickness or death, unveil the solemn realities of time and eternity. Here will those who long for a better day, speak of their aspirations and make known their hopes.

May the light which is shed abroad here, be from above. Around this spot may the grandeur of truth be gathered. Here may the cross of Christ be uplifted, until every heart shall be kindled into a divine love. There are spiritual achievements yet before us; sins to be crushed, errors to be exploded, light to be diffused, and truth to be established. While we consider "the days of old," and "the years of ancient times;" while we behold what others accomplished amid dangers and discouragements, shall it not inspire us with new zeal and bind us together with holier sympathies? As often as this day comes round may it find us assembled together, and may "the Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers."

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ART. IV.—ARNOLD'S SERMONS.*

IT is not our purpose at present to enter into any extended examination of the two volumes of sermons by the late Oxford Professor of History, and our principal motive for noticing them at all is, to present our readers some extracts from the Introduction and Notes to one of the volumes, having reference to questions which are now deeply agitating the religious public in England, and are receiving some attention in our own country.

The volume, the title of which we have placed first, was published before the author's death, which took place, June 11, 1842. The second of these volumes is posthumous. The sermons contained in both were preached mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School, of which the writer was Head Master. They are plain, serious, practical discourses, written without any attempt at eloquence. They exhibit no remarkable intellectual power, yet the thought is always fresh and vigorous, and they breathe an earnest and Christian spirit. Their peculiar excellence, as it appears to us, is their strict adaptation — this is true of most of them at least — to the condition and needs of the audience before which they were preached. They are not discourses on general subjects, which might be as well preached before one set of hearers as another. Many of them bear the form of direct addresses to the young, to children at school; and consist not in vague declamation, but in a discussion of some definite subject, some principle of conduct or duty, connected with the wants, dangers, and temptations of youth. Others are upon the general duties of the Christian life, its "course, its hindrances, and its helps," "its hopes, its fears, and its close." Yet these topics are not treated in any formal way, nor at all systematically, so as to form

* 1. *Christian Life, its Course, its Hindrances, and its Helps. Sermons, preached mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School. By* THOMAS ARNOLD, D. D., Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Second Edition. London: 1842. 8vo. pp. 492.

2. *Christian Life, its Hopes, its Fears, and its Close. Sermons, preached mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School.* By the late THOMAS ARNOLD, D. D., Head Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. London: 1842. 8vo. pp. 469.

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one regular whole. This the author does not pretend, though the title of the volumes would lead one to expect some such thing. Probably most persons who take up the volumes, allured by the title, will read them with a feeling of disappointment. Still we cannot but think, that the delivery of such sermons from Sabbath to Sabbath, marked, as they are, by a high moral and religious tone, and containing so much which was directly applicable, must have been attended with good, especially when we take into view the peculiar respect and affection, which, as we are told, Dr. Arnold had the happiness uniformly to inspire in his pupils. They certainly present a beautiful picture of the relation in which he stood to his pupils, not simply as their intellectual father, but a tender and faithful religious guide. Several of the sermons, however, have a direct reference to the principles and usages of his own Church, the Church of England, which will render them less acceptable elsewhere than at home and among the members of the Establishment.

We will give a single extract from the sermons, to illustrate what we have said of their directness and application. We might give many better passages, and some equally direct, but the following will show the author's manner and style, when he is most familiar. He is speaking of a school as a Christian society, — as "in its idea and institution God's temple;" and every one, he says, who is a member of it has a duty to perform in regard to it — he owes a duty to the school.

"I would say a few words to another class of persons among you, to those whose station in the school is high, but yet does not invest them with authority, while their age is often such as to give them really an influence equal to that of those above them, or it may be superior. I will not say that these exercise an influence for evil, for such a charge can only apply to particular persons; none exercise a direct influence for evil without being in some way evil themselves; but I am sure that, as a class, they have much to answer for in standing aloof, and not discouraging evil and encouraging good. They forget that if they have not authority, they have what really amounts to the same thing; they know that they are looked up to, — that what they say and do has its effect on others; they know, in short, that they are of some consequence and weight in the school. But being so, they cannot escape the responsibility of their

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position. It matters nothing that the rules of the school confer on them no direct power. One far above any school authority has given them a power, and will call them to a strict account for its exercise. We may lay no official responsibility upon you, but God does. He has given you a talent which it is your sin to waste, or to lay by unimproved. And as it is most certain that you have an influence and power, and you well know it; so remember that where there is power, there is ever a duty attached to it; — if you can influence others, — as beyond all doubt you can, and do influence them daily, — if you do not influence them against evil and for good, you are wasting the talent entrusted to you, and sinning against God.

"Again, I will speak to them who are yet younger, whose age and station in school confer on them, it may be, no general influence. But see whether you too have not your influence, and whether you also do not sin often by neglecting it or misusing it. By whom is it that new boys are for the most part corrupted? Not certainly by those much above them in school, but necessarily by their own immediate companions. By whom are they laughed at for their conscientiousness, or reviled and annoyed for their knowledge or their diligence? not certainly by those at or near the head of the school, but by those of their own age and form. To whose annoyance does many a new boy owe the wretchedness of his life here? To whose influence and example has he owed the corruption of his practice, and of his principles, — his ruin here and forever? Is it not to those nearly of his own age, with whom he is most led to associate? And can boys say that they have no influence, when they influence so notoriously the comfort and character of their neighbors? At this moment particularly, when so many new boys are just come amongst us, the younger or middle-aged boys have an especial influence, and let them beware how they use it. I know not what greater sin can be committed, than the so talking, and so acting, to a new boy, as to make him ashamed of any thing good, or not ashamed of any thing evil. It matters very little what is the age of the boy who exercises an influence like theirs. He, too, has anticipated the power of more advanced years, and in like manner he has contracted their guilt, and is liable to their punishment."*

The Introduction and Notes, to which we have alluded, belong to the first volume named by us, and published by the author himself. They show us the magnitude of the loss sustained by the moderate party in the Church, by the

* Christian Life, its Hopes, Fears, and Close. — pp. 60 — 62.

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death of Professor Arnold, for he was an earnest, fearless man, well-informed on all points of the controversy, and disposed to give free utterance to his opinions. And he did so.

The Oxford movement is generally supposed to have commenced only ten or twelve years ago. Professor Arnold assigns to it an earlier origin. It has been called "a movement towards something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century." To this he does not object. He adds,

"It began, I suppose, in the last ten years of the last century, and has ever since been working onwards, though for a long time slowly and secretly, and with no distinctly marked direction. But still, in philosophy and general literature, there have been sufficient proofs that the pendulum, which for nearly two hundred years had been swinging one way, was now beginning to swing back again; and as its last oscillation brought it from the true centre, so it may be, that its present impulse may be no less in excess, and thus may bring on again, in after ages, another corresponding reaction." — p. iii.

Of Mr. Newman and his friends Dr. Arnold says,

"There are states of nervous excitement, when the noise of a light footstep is distracting. In such a condition were the authors of the Tracts in 1833, and all their subsequent proceedings have shown that the disorder was still upon them. Beset by their horror of the nineteenth century, they sought for something most opposite to it, and therefore they turned to what they called Christian antiquity. Had they judged of their own times, had they appreciated the good of the nineteenth century, as well as its evil, they would have looked for their remedy not to the second or third or fourth centuries, but the first; they would have tried to restore, not the Church of Cyprian, or Athanasius, or Augustine, but the Church of St. Paul and of St. John. Now, this it is most certain that they have not done. Their appeal has been not to Scripture, but to the opinions and practices of the dominant party in the ancient Church. They have endeavored to set those opinions and practices, under the name of Apostolical tradition, on a level with the authority of the Scriptures. But their unfortunate excitement has made them fail of doing even what they intended to do. It may be true that all their doctrines may be found in the writings of those whom they call the Fathers; but the effect of their teaching is different because its proportions are altered. Along with their doctrines, there are other points and another spirit promi-

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nent in the writings of the earlier Christians, which give to the whole a different complexion. The Tracts for the Times do not appear to me to represent faithfully the language of Christian antiquity; they are rather its caricature." — pp. xx — xxii.

In preaching, as they do, "apostolical succession" and the power of the clergy, Professor Arnold says, Mr. Newman and his friends preach themselves, and not Christ. He proceeds,

"Again, the system which they hold up as 'better and deeper than satisfied the last century' is a remedy which has been tried once already: and its failure was so palpable, that all the evil of the eighteenth century was but the reaction from that enormous evil which this remedy, if it be any, had at any rate been powerless to cure. Apostolical succession, the dignity of the clergy, the authority of the Church, were triumphantly maintained for several centuries; and their full development was coincident, to say the least, with the corruption alike of Christ's religion and Christ's church. So far were they from tending to realize the promises of prophecy, to perfect Christ's body up to the measure of the stature of Christ's own fulness, that Christ's Church declined during their ascendancy more and more; — she fell alike from truth and from holiness; and these doctrines, if they did not cause the evil, were at least quite unable to restrain it. For, in whatever points the fifteenth century differed from the fourth, it cannot be said that it upheld the apostolical succession less peremptorily, or attached a less value to Church tradition and Church authority. I am greatly understating the case, but I am content for the present to do so: I will not say that Mr. Newman's favorite doctrines were the very Antichrist which corrupted Christianity; I will only say that they did not prevent its corruption, — that when they were most exalted, Christian truth and Christian goodness were most depressed." — pp. xxviii, xxix.

In regard to the necessity of apostolical succession to give efficacy to the sacraments, he says, that there are no words of Jesus from which such a doctrine "can be deduced either probably or plausibly; none from which it could be even conjectured that such a tenet had ever been in existence."

The following is in a tone of great earnestness and benevolence, and shows the moral aspects under which the author was accustomed to view the Oxford assumptions, and the broad principles by which he judged of the truth or falsehood of a doctrine. There is a moral element which

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belongs to all religious truth, which we do not find in the doctrines of Puseyism.

"When we look at the condition of our country; at the poverty and wretchedness of so large a portion of the working classes; at the intellectual and moral evils which certainly exist among the poor, but by no means amongst the poor only; and when we witness the many partial attempts to remedy these evils — attempts benevolent indeed and wise, so far as they go, but utterly unable to strike to the heart of the mischief; can any Christian doubt that here is the work for the church of Christ to do; that none else can do it; and that with the blessing of her Almighty Head she can. Looking upon the chaos around us, one power alone can reduce it into order, and fill it with light and life. And does he really apprehend the perfections and high calling of Christ's church; does he indeed fathom the depths of man's wants, or has he learnt to rise to the fulness of the stature of their divine remedy, who comes forward to preach to us the necessity of apostolical succession? Grant even that it was of Divine appointment, still as it is demonstrably and palpably unconnected with holiness, as it would be a mere positive and ceremonial ordinance, it cannot be the point of most importance to insist on; even if it be a sin to neglect this, there are so many far weightier matters equally neglected, that it would be assuredly no Christian prophesying which were to strive to direct our chief attention to this. But the wholly unmoral character of this doctrine, which, if it were indeed of God, would make it a single mysterious exception to all the other doctrines of the Gospel, is, God be thanked, not more certain than its total want of external evidence; the Scriptures disclaims it, Christ himself condemns it." — pp. lxv — lxvii.

Our next extract is from the Notes at the end of the volume, and we wish we had room for more, especially on the historical evidence of the Scriptures, on faith, and rationalism. But we must content ourselves with the following, relating to one of the objections to the principle of the High-Church party, that is, its "extreme vagueness," in reference to the authority of antiquity.

"What is primitive antiquity? and where is its authority to be found? Does 'primitive antiquity' mean the first three centuries? or the first two? or the first five? or the first seven? Does it include any of the general councils? or one of them? or four? or six? Are Irenæus and Tertullian the latest writers of 'primitive antiquity?' or does it end with Augustine? or

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does it comprehend the venerable Bede? One writer has lately told us, that our Reformers wished the people to be taught, 'that, for almost seven hundred years, the Church was most pure.' Are we then, to hold that 'primitive antiquity' embraces a period of nearly seven centuries? Seven centuries are considerably more than a third part of the whole duration of the Church, from its foundation to this hour: can the third part of a nation's history be called its primitive antiquity? Is a tenet, or a practice taught when Christianity had been more than six hundred years in the world, to be called primitive? We know not then, in the first place, what length of time is signified by 'primitive antiquity.'

"But let it signify any length of time we choose, I ask, next, where is its authority to be found? In the decisions of the general councils? But if we call the first four centuries 'primitive antiquity,' we find in this period only two general councils; if we include the fifth century, we get four; if we take in the sixth and seventh centuries, we have then, in all, six general councils. Will the decisions of any, or all, of these six councils furnish us with an authoritative interpretation of Scripture? They give us the Nicene and the Constantinopolitan creeds; they condemn various notions with respect to the person of our Lord, and to some other points of belief; and they contain a variety of regulations for the discipline and order of the Church; but, with the exception of some particular passages, there is no authority in the creeds, or canons, or anathemas of these councils, for the interpretation of Scripture; they leave its difficulties just where they were before. It is but little, then, which the first six general councils will do towards providing the student of Scripture with an infallible standard of interpretation.

"Where, however, except in the councils, can we find any thing claiming to be the voice of the Church? Neither individual writers, nor yet all the writers of the first seven centuries together, can properly be called the Church. They form, even all together, but a limited number of individuals who, in different countries, and at different periods, expressed, in writing, their own sentiments, but without any public authority. Origen, one of the ablest and most learned of them all, was anathematized by the second council of Constantinople; Tertullian was heretical during a part of his life; Lactantius was taxed with heterodoxy. How are we to know who were sound? And if sound generally, that is to say, if they stand charged with no heretical error, yet it does not follow that a man is infallible because he is not heretical; and none of these writers have been distinguished like the five great Roman lawyers whom the edict of Theodosius selected from the mass, and gave to their decisions a legal authority. Or, again, if it be said that the

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agreement of the great majority of them is to be regarded as decisive, we answer, that as no individual amongst them is in himself an authority legally, so neither can any number of them be so; and if a moral authority only be meant, such as we naturally ascribe to the concurring judgment of many eminent men, then this is a totally different question, and is open to inquiry in every separate case; for as, on the one hand, no one denies that such a concurring judgment is *an* authority, yet, on the other hand, it may be outweighed, either by the worth of the few who differ from the judgment, or by the reason of the case itself; and the concurring judgment of the majority may show no more than the force of a general prejudice, which only a few individuals were sensible enough to resist.—pp. 470–472.

A. L.

Art. V.—THE BOOK OF LIFE.

The thought of accountableness is ever present in the minds of all rational beings. Somewhere and in some way our deeds and thoughts are recorded, so that every wrong action and every impure imagination will come into judgment. Whether of good or of evil, there is nothing hid that shall not be revealed and come abroad.

Perhaps the only form which this conception can take in the minds of the young is, that God writes down our whole history in a book of eternal record. The idea that spiritual messengers are all around us, that they take knowledge of every new-born thought, every rising emotion, and every action that bodies them forth, and thence wing their way to that awful presence with their burden of sorrow or of joy; that they "give in" the sins of men with tears of grief and tinges of shame, but all pure and virtuous actions with quick movements and rejoicing spirits,—this is an idea which has been to us of magical potency in many an hour of temptation, and of fearful recollection and foreboding in the day of remorse. The thought of the judgment-seat and the books that are to be opened,—and that all these are to be read in our ears by the dread angel, and so truly and perfectly, that every word will carry its own convictions to the heart,—is a mighty persuasive to well-doing.

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Perhaps the first refinement which we make upon these impressions of our childhood is, that the record of our crimes and virtues is to be found in that general result — our own characters. Upon these every thought and volition have a bearing. At any given period of our existence, whether here or hereafter, we shall be what we have made ourselves by all the crimes and virtues that went before. "The child is father of the man," and so is the man of the immortal. Childhood has the formation of youth, youth of manhood, and manhood of age, and childhood, youth, manhood, and age are but successive waves in that never-ceasing tide that rolls onward its resistless waters, till they stir the vast ocean of eternity. How does every thing of the present in our voluntary history tell with inconceivable importance upon an everlasting futurity.

And do even these conceptions reach the full truth of the matter? We think not. They give the general doctrine, but there are many things included under it, which are yet to be brought forth in terrible distinctness. The human memory — how little do we yet know of its higher laws! It is a power more dignified than that of prophecy, for it clothes man in attributes more solemn and responsible. Though so little understood, yet we obtain fitful gleams and fore-splendors of its higher offices, which make us tremble when we think we are men.

There is an obvious distinction observed in all mental philosophy between *memory* and *recollection*. Memory is not an active power of the mind, but the passive repository of all the facts of past experience, whether inward or outward, — all thoughts, emotions, and states of mind, as well as all words and determinate actions. Recollection is the faculty which calls up these from their places of repose; which evokes them from their dim, and perhaps long forgotten cells, and brings them up again into the clear light of the consciousness. And now — these are the questions we tremble to ask — is there any thing which a mortal man can think, or speak, or do, which can perish from the memory? And is there any thing in the memory, which recollection may not seize upon and drag forth into the most central and burning light of self-consciousness? — To both these questions we think the answer is, No. We doubt whether any fact, however trivial, into which the

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soul has once passed by its own free volitions, can afterwards perish from the memory, any more than the smallest atom once created by the fiat of God can of itself fall into non-existence. We find, moreover, from the experience of minds, even when clogged and overlaid with matter, that they are capable of being excited to such a degree of intensity that long forgotten images come thronging back upon them, when even childhood pours its long-lost treasures upon the reviving remembrances of age. Is it not owing to this law in its more beneficent operations, that words of tenderness and lessons of maternal love come back to the mind of the hoary prodigal with moving eloquence, even from the years of infancy? Is it not true, that in the sunny period of our childhood, when our "angels do always behold the face of our Father in heaven" and breathe celestial whisperings through our spiritual natures, good impressions without number and thoughts of purity and counsels of wisdom from teacher and parent are treasured up in our memories; that though buried and forgotten long afterwards when we walk through the valley of sin, yet they are never lost? It is among these as among the embers of a buried flame that the Holy Spirit moves, waking the prodigal to a sense of his guilt and calling him back to the house of his Father. These early treasures, thus lost and brought to light again, are the foundation of Plato's doctrine of "Reminiscence," Swedenborg's doctrine of "Remains," and of the high and almost divine philosophy shadowed forth in Wordsworth's *Evening Ode* and in that on the early intimations of immortality. The poet is gazing upon the glories of an evening sky, when, if ever, we seem to stand before the gates of Paradise and feel its peace pass into our souls. "The shadow and the peace supreme" revive the purest thoughts and recollections of the primal innocence of human nature.

> "Such hues from their celestial urn
> Were wont to stream before mine eye,
> Where'er I wandered in the morn
> Of blissful infancy.
> This glimpse of glory, why renewed?
> Nay, rather speak with gratitude;
> For, if a vestige of those gleams
> Survived, 'twas only in my dreams.

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Dread Power! whom peace and calmness serve
No less than nature's threatening voice,
If aught unworthy be my choice,
From Thee if I would swerve,
Oh, let thy grace remind me of the light,
Full early lost, and fruitlessly deplored;
Which at this moment on my waking sight
Appears to shine, by miracle restored!"

How beautiful the doctrine! how encouraging to the good! These are the treasures laid up in heaven, which moth cannot corrupt and which thieves cannot plunder. Yea, not a word of pious counsel or heavenly wisdom which the Sabbath school teacher breathes into the ear of the child, can ever be lost. And some time — far on in the course of years — it may awake in the dormitory of the soul and speak in angel-accents and prevail.

We may look at this law in another of its applications. View it in connection with the great subject of retribution. "Every word shall be brought into judgment, with every secret thing." We have known the mind, when unusually excited, recal the faded impressions of former years and the facts associated with them. What an idea does this give us of the susceptibilities of our souls? God might, at a single breathing of his upon our faculties, quicken them into such intense activity that they should give us back all our past experience. The graves of memory might all be opened and deliver up their dead, so that every faded impression should be revived — so that the images of the past should all sweep in sun-bright array through the halls of the soul, and make us live over in an hour the life of four-score years. There is a passage in Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, so well known that we need not quote it, in which he mentions an illiterate person, who in fits of delirium was accustomed to repeat with great fluency long passages from Latin and Hebrew writers, which she had heard read twenty years before, when they only fell upon the ear as unintelligible sounds. An excitement of the mind brought back even the words that had been lost for twenty years! "And this" — so comments the writer upon the fact — "this perchance is the dread book of judgment, in whose mysterious hieroglyphics every idle word is recorded! Yea, in the very nature of the living spirit it

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may be more possible, that heaven and earth should pass away, than that a single act, a single thought, should be loosened or lost from that living chain of causes, to all whose links, conscious or unconscious, the free will, our only absolute self, is co-extensive and co-present." A passage, exclaims another writer, which strikes me whenever I read it with the profoundest awe.

Here, clothed with matter and clogged with the senses, the human faculties do not rise to their highest and most intense activity. But the physical body will fall and crumble, and we shall be "clothed upon" with the body celestial. How then may the whole book of our past experience open up its revelations into the consciousness? Is the sinner to be convicted of his sinful lusts and passions? He is brought back into that state of mind from which his crimes have flowed, and then recollection calls out from memory the wicked passion, and all the minutest facts in which it was manifested, and the words in which it was bodied forth. "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is *the book of life*; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books according to their works."

From these partial gleams into this mysterious being, so sublimely yet fearfully endowed, we shall learn with more and more of distinctness and vividness how vain and futile are the hopes which some entertain of the future bliss; how entirely artificial and technical is much of the theology of the Church; how false the notion of a substituted righteousness, when one must bring himself and the whole of himself to the judgment-seat, whether it be good or whether it be evil; and how cheering the thought to the good man, that the treasures of virtue are as imperishable as God himself, — that holy remembrances shall throng his mind forever, and shed over it the sweet elixir of heavenly peace. Yea, though he have faults and sins which cannot fall out from the memory, yet there shall they lie buried and never rise up to his condemnation, when the ruling affection is pure and holy. And the old man, whose mind has seemed to decay, who appears to be wrapping about him his grave-clothes, that he may lie down to eternal sleep, preserves nevertheless all the treasures of his past experience. He

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hath forgotten them, but they are not lost. He has but to breathe the airs of immortality, and the vigor of eternal youth is his; faded impressions revive; his childhood, youth, and hardy manhood pour all their treasures upon his mind and give back to him all that he has lived; the fields of memory rise in the past in all their flower and verdure; the fields of immortality rise before him and invite him to all their holy activities, among which decay and death shall be forever unknown. "O joy! that in our embers is something that doth live." E. H. S.

ART. VI. — OXFORDISM AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH.*

THE "Tracts for the Times" are very remarkable productions, remarkable for what they are and for what they are not. In a literary point of view, they are distinguished for the skill with which they are written, and equally distinguished for those qualities which we most want in works devoted to the investigation of religious truth. The great talent which they exhibit is a talent for *plausibility* — not the plausibility of a vigorous, though perverted logic, but of tone and form and solemn pretence. Their authors have much learning and much refinement of mind; but it would seem as if their whole intellectual discipline had been of that *artistical* kind, which makes one exquisitely sensitive to the form, and regardless of the substance. It would be difficult to refer to any late writings, in which more of that ability is found, which consists in hiding real weakness under an imposing manner, and in presenting propositions which will not bear a moment's examination under an attractive shape. The arts of rhetoric are very much at their command. They are masters of style; — not that they write in a style to suit any thing else, — but they know how to use words for their own purposes. They

* *Tracts for the Times.* By Members of the University of Oxford. 5 vols. 8vo. Also, No's 89, and 90. London: J. G. F. & J. Rivington.

Bernard Leslie; or, a Tale of the Last Ten Years. By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M. A., Prebendary of Lichfield. Third Edition. London. 1842. 12mo.

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understand the whole art of timidly and with solemn awe suggesting absurdities which would bear no other statement, of venturing doubts, of asking questions, of hiding and half hiding ideas under sentences that at first sight seem full of meaning; and they know when also to express themselves clearly, and when to affirm with unhesitating dogmatism and presumptuous arrogance; and yet the dogmatism and the arrogance are uttered in so gentlemanly and equable a tone, that you are obliged to pause a moment before you see its real nature. All is artificial, and yet such admirable art, that it takes time to understand the delusion; nay, you are almost unwilling to understand it. In the kind of training to which they have subjected themselves, it seems as if the best qualities of the mind had been frittered away. There are few writers who seem to have less sensibility to truth, to common sense and to evidence, and few in our day, who might be expected to present any cause they espoused under more plausible aspects. They are not philosophers, nor theologians, nor reasoners, nor poets, but rhetoricians.

The social and moral tone of the Tracts is equally remarkable. They do not seem to be written by living men. No man who had struggled with poverty or felt the responsibility of wealth, who had contended for the mastery with bosom sins, or felt the force of passions and affections, or rejoiced when the living child was put into his arms, or mourned over the dead, no one who had looked to religion for succour and hope out of the depths and the trials of the real world, could have written as these men have done. Their writings have no sympathy with sinning, struggling, rejoicing, suffering, hoping, fearing humanity. Their religion is something outside and apart from man. It is not a religion for the ascetic, who scourges himself in his cave and weeps and moans over awful memories of guilt. It is not for men struggling in the heats and turmoil of the actual world. It is a religion which might suit dreaming scholars, living quietly and at ease amidst books and in abundance, amiable and passionless, or a tame, quiescent people, willing to labor from morning till night without thought;—but even with them, let them be roused by great interests, or overwhelmed by great trials, or let the slumbering passions that lie buried beneath all this quietude be kindled, and

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such a religion would be as beds of flowers or rows of vines over the crater of a volcano. It is a religion to make quiet and dreaming men think it a virtue to be quiet and to dream. But it has little hold on the mightier springs of action in the human soul; so little indeed, that in any great revolution, subjecting men to great reverses and trials, we should expect those who had identified it with Christianity, from the simple feeling of its powerlessness, to become infidels.

Another peculiarity is, that they have brought up to be re-discussed and re-judged, as if it were still an open question, a subject which we had thought laid to rest forever in Protestant Europe, namely, the authority of the Scriptures as a rule of faith. This is, and will soon, we think, be found to be the all-important question. It is a question of foundations; — the old question, — on what shall we build? As this is answered, every thing else will be answered. According to the size and shape of the foundation, will be the size and shape of the superstructure. He who rejects the authority of Popes and Councils, and he who accepts as of Divine authority the Creed of Pius IV., will obviously have few points of agreement. In many of the religious divisions of the day, the judgment passed on this preliminary question will decide all subordinate points. Thus as an illustration of its importance: — the Mormon builds his faith on the Bible *and* the book of Mormon; the two together constitute his foundation. The character of the superstructure is determined by that of the foundation. The Swedenborgian builds on the Bible *and* the writings of Swedenborg. Most Presbyterians, not in theory perhaps, but as a matter of fact, build on the Bible *and* the Confession of Faith. The Catholic builds on the Bible *and* the traditions of the Church and decrees of Councils and Popes. The Tractarians build on the Bible *and* on the first five or six centuries of Christian history. The Bible is not broad enough to stand upon; in order to find warrant for their views, they are obliged to attribute a sort of Divine authority to the customs and creeds of those whom they find it convenient to select as the Orthodox Fathers, as late at least as five hundred years after the death of the Saviour. We believe the discussion of this question will do good. Protestants have never more than half adopted the great principle of Protestantism — the sufficiency of the Scrip-

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tures as the rule of faith. We cannot but hope that a controversy like this will lead all thinking men to see the necessity of giving up these false foundations and of taking their stand on true Protestant ground; lead them to see the necessity of building on CHRIST (not the Christ of Creeds and Church history, but of the New Testament) *as the true and only foundation.*

In our criticisms on these writings, we have no intention of suggesting a doubt of the good faith of the writers. We presume that they are as honest as men in general are in their opinions. But when men undertake to maintain and teach that the Divine grace cannot, or at any rate that we have no ground for expecting that it will, reach mankind except through the channel of a particular priesthood and the sacraments which they administer — that therefore a priest of a parish by shutting up his church may quarantine the Divine mercy — that the constituted heads of the Church by stopping the administration of the ordinances can lay an embargo which shall exclude the influences of the Holy Spirit from the whole kingdom — that they who have no control over Heaven's light have power to say when its grace shall be distributed, — while we do not question their good faith, we may question their presumptuous claims. There was something sublime in the Papal Interdict. The grandeur of the presumption half blinds us to its blasphemy. But when a respectable young man, social and amiable, hardly knowing what he is about and meaning nothing wrong, and who because his father or uncle owns a living has taken orders, strives to wield the lightnings of heaven and to say on what patches of earth God's sunlight shall fall, it is simply melancholy and ridiculous. And when these writers undertake to urge on all true churchmen the danger of marrying out of the Episcopal ranks* — the peril of soul encountered by every Episcopal "Philip" who marries a Baptist "Letitia," on the ground that the Apostle warns us against being unequally yoked with unbelievers — when the bigotry which has shut up the gates of heaven would breathe with its blighting breath on the affections of earth, — while we do not doubt their honesty, we suppose that charity

* See this matter discussed at much length and with great solemnity in Tract No. 40, on Baptism.

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does not require us to believe in their common sense, or in their interpretation of the Scriptures.

One of the striking features of this movement is the number of new works in illustration or defence of their views, with which the Tractarians have flooded England. There must be among them much zeal and much leisure. Poems and plain sermons, treatises and tracts, translations of the Fathers and stories for children, setting forth the necessity of regeneration by baptism and the divine authority of Episcopacy, have poured forth from their presses in ceaseless stream. The literature of Puseyism, both for its amount and its peculiar character, would form an interesting subject for an article.

The second of the list of books at the head of these remarks, is a religious novel written for the defence and propagation of Puseyism. Bernard Leslie is first intended for the Law. He studies at Oxford, improves himself by foreign travel, and on his return, changing his original plan, prepares himself for holy orders. He represents himself as quite destitute of theological knowledge, and wholly uncommitted to either of the great rival parties in the Church, and indeed as altogether ignorant of the differences between them. The book is a history of the changes of his mind, at first vibrating towards Evangelicalism, and finally as his experience and knowledge increase, leaving that dangerous quicksand to establish itself on the solid ground of Puseyism. The principal actors, or rather interlocutors, in the story, are Rev. Watts Flavel and Rev. Mr. Manwaring, clergymen of neighboring parishes, to whom in his spiritual doubts and anxieties he appeals for counsel and with whom the main part of the various discussions is carried on. The first is one of the Evangelical party, of considerable talent and energy, but coarse, vulgar, and callous-hearted in his treatment of human souls, and so entirely depending on Justification by Faith, that he manifestly holds good works in great contempt. The other is a Tractarian and of course is in appearance very mild, intellectual, and beneficent, a gentleman, a scholar, and devoted to his duties as a parochial minister. There are other subordinate personages. Through one or the other all the great questions which now distract the English Church are brought up for discussion, and the decision, as one would ex-

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pect, is always against Evangelicalism and Dissent. The author sets up a platoon of men of straw, and then shows his skill in overturning them. In reading, one cannot but feel that it is a very convenient mode of conducting a controversy — this of shaping an adversary's argument to suit yourself before answering it. It saves a world of trouble, and frees one from all difficulty with facts and objections which might otherwise obstruct the course of a triumphant and self-complacent argument. In the progress of the volume, the divine rights of bishops, the three-fold ministry, regeneration by baptism, the desirableness of strictly following the rubric, the sacraments as the channels of Divine grace, the awful peril to which all ministers expose themselves who without being Episcopally ordained presume to administer the sacraments, and the great importance of observing the various fasts, festivals, saints' days, and ceremonies of the Church, are each in turn duly insisted on and supposed to be established. The evidence in favor of the Puseyite views is made to satisfy some indifferent person, or to overwhelm a foe.

The work is written with much literary tact and skill. We can easily believe, what we have been told, that it has been more influential in making converts to the Tractarian views than any other single work that has been published. And yet one of the remarkable features of the book is the small amount of reasons which Bernard Leslie finds sufficient to satisfy him of the most momentous propositions, and the slender arguments which he finds sufficient to overwhelm and convince others. The same thing is characteristic of nearly all the writers of the party to which he belongs. Their reasoning powers appear to be inverted. Their eyes seem constructed like those of moles, to see what is insignificant. A grain of sand can be seen, but a mountain, from its magnitude, is invisible. The eye cannot take in enough of it to gain any idea of its size or proportions. It is so with their mode of reasoning. A few awful words and an appeal to the Prayer-Book seem sufficient to settle any question. Nothing appears so satisfactory to them as an astounding absurdity or self-contradiction sustained by a weak argument. Yet it is not in this way that living men are convinced; and it shows conclusively, we think, that there are other great and powerful

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causes in operation, originating and carrying on this work, altogether independent of and infinitely more effectual than the theological arguments by which it is supported. To some of these we shall presently refer.

Before doing so, however, there is one other characteristic that distinguishes nearly all these writings, which we will not entirely pass over, and that is, the insolent arrogance, the assumption of authority, the tone of patronizing contempt that pervades and characterizes the whole current of their reasonings, appeals and exhortations. It is a tone which does not become the English Church. Neither her learning nor her labors warrant her assuming it. For the last hundred years, notwithstanding her Universities and the great advantages of her priesthood, she has added but little of value to theological literature. During that whole period very few works have come from that Church which a scholar would think worth the quoting. Learning and eloquence both seem to have taken refuge in the ranks of Dissent. Infinitely more meagre does its theological literature appear, when compared with the productions of the poor, but enthusiastic and faithful, scholars of Germany. If its deserts are small here, they are still less when we come to consider its labors of usefulness. Certainly of all the different sects in England, in proportion to its means, the Episcopal has done the least.

But this is a topic respecting which we feel little concern. Unitarians have been in the habit of encountering a similar arrogance from all the sects around them. In this case, it is withdrawn from them to be lavished on each other. We may charitably hope that this experience of each other's assumption and bigotry will serve to diminish their amount.

Our remarks on these writings have been prompted certainly by no unkind feelings. We should be sorry to see the English Church fall, for in the present state of things in England we doubt very much if any thing as good would take its place. With their views of Church government we have no sympathy; but so far as the main points in debate between the Tractarians and Evangelicals are concerned, admitting what in general both sides admit, we think the former have the right of it. There can be no doubt that their sacred book — if we may so call the Book

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of Common Prayer — does teach, for example, the doctrine of regeneration by baptism. Then we like their theology better than that of the Evangelicals. It may not agree so well with the Thirty-nine Articles, but defective and perverse as it is, it comes somewhat nearer to common sense and the Scriptures. The interest which we take in the subject is not that of partisans, but that which all must take who see in these great religious movements the seeds of much future good or evil.

Turning then from other topics; — what are we to think of the origin, nature and prospects of this Puseyite party in the English Church? This question would introduce naturally two very different trains of remark. It might lead us to examine the truth of the Tractarian views as forming a system of theology and their relation to other systems; or without regarding the truth or error of the opinions set forth, we may look at those other and more general causes, political as well as religious, which have kindled up this sudden fervor of Episcopal zeal in England. It is to the latter point that we shall confine ourselves. But looking at it in this light, in order to understand this Oxford movement, there are several previous circumstances in the history of the Established Church that must be called to mind.

In the first place, it is a State religion. The Church of England, as such, owes its origin, not to the authority of Christ, but to the lusts of a king. For centuries before the time of Henry VIII., England had been one of the tamest countries in Christendom in its submission to the authority of the Papal See. The exactions of the Pope had however pressed heavily on the native clergy, and this had alienated their affections from him and disposed them to seek protection from the State. Henry found a people accustomed to believe as they were taught, and a clergy disciplined to submission and prepared to side with him in a contest with Rome.

The Reformation in England was the work of Henry, and the prompters to it were his passions. It originated not in the diffusion of Christian truth, nor in the zeal of reformers; it was not the work of the clergy, nor of the Church. Had Henry's divorce from Catherine received the sanction of the Pope, not a question would have been

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raised as to his authority. At the bidding of Henry, Parliament voted what the clergy should preach and what the people should believe. Protestant Episcopacy in England was established not by the grace of God, but by Act of Parliament. The modifications which it received under Edward and Elizabeth, and which it has undergone since, have emanated from the same source. The King is the head of the Church. He appoints the Bishops, and the Government or the aristocracy hold in their possession a vast part of the property of the Church. Hence the Church is rightly regarded as the creature and instrument of the State, and at the same time as one of its strongest buttresses. Hence every good citizen who cares little about Christian truth, and all pious men who find that truth in the Thirty-nine Articles and who are really imbued with the spirit of English institutions, equally feel that they must uphold that which is the religion of their country according to law. The nobility and the King will always patronize the Church, for the same reason that Charlemagne and Pepin sustained the Papacy, — because the whole of its strength will be at the service of the Crown. The altar props the throne. And so closely are the property, rights and privileges of the Establishment blended and bound up with the privileges and powers of the monarchy and nobility, that its destruction would be like pulling the main arch away from under a bridge; while, on the other hand, the throne could not fall without dragging down the altar in the general ruin.

A true churchman in England, in the spirit of the Church, is conservative. In his view, no change is likely to be for the better. Everything is so entirely on an artificial basis in England, that change of any kind must be to all a work of serious anxiety. It is like removing a cog or wheel of a great machine while it is in motion — dangerous to the operator and to the machine. But to no being on earth can change seem more fearful than to an English Churchman. The Church is the weak part in the monarchy — the first that will be assailed — the most easily overthrown; and a Churchman will not only dread change as endangering the existence of the Church established by law, but he will dread it as ominous of rapidly hastening changes in government and perhaps of its utter subversion.

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A man may be a Churchman without being a Christian; but he cannot be so without being conservative. A Churchman — we speak of natural tendencies arising out of his position — is the conservative of conservatives. He cleaves to the old, established landmarks as essential, not to convenience, but to existence. Sooner would the settler loosen the *levee* when the Mississippi is at flood, than the Churchman loosen any of the old embankments that resist the democratic pressure of the age. This is one circumstance to show how naturally and reasonably the Oxfordites cleave to the past, and are strenuous sticklers for the faithful observance of all the requirements of the rubric and the canons. A slight change may not terminate in itself, and is not to be regarded as one single departure from a prescribed course, but rather as a loosening of the whole immense fabric. And thus, white gowns and black gowns, praying east or west, lighted or unlighted candles and flowers on the communion table, saints' days and the psalm before sermon, become questions of serious moment, worthy of occupying the attention of the clergy and demanding the solemn decision of Bishops.

Again; after a long period of religious inanition, in the earlier and middle part of the last century, with the Wesleys and Whitfields, began a great revival. If a fire be kindled, all around it are warmed. Wesley not only built up the great sect of the Methodists and awakened amongst them an enthusiastic devotion, but in doing this he quickened with new life all the surrounding sects. Religion has less power over the superstitions of men than it once had, but since the time of Wesley it has had a vastly greater and constantly increasing power over their thoughts. The ministry has become more active and a higher standard of character is demanded. The great missionary movements, the Bible, Tract and other similar Societies, the endeavor to increase the number of churches, the multiplication of sects, and more than all perhaps, the immensely increased number of religious books, of such especially as have had their origin in and are intended to control or guide religious emotion, are only so many signs of increased interest in religion. The lethargy of the Established Church has been stirred, and it emulates and rivals the zeal of the Dissenters. But this religious interest will manifest itself

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variously, according to the social position, intellectual tastes and moral wants of those who feel it. The religious feeling may be much the same, but it will exhibit itself in very different ways in the luxurious, intellectual, fastidious, aristocratic incumbent of an Oxford fellowship, and in a toiling, poorly clad, poorly fed, poorly housed artisan of Birmingham. Their temptations, their wants, their dangers, their tastes are different, and religion will be different to them.

Again, and perhaps more than any single circumstance, the political aspect of the times is to be taken into account. Everything, with the irresistible current of the rapids above Niagara, moves on towards a great democratic revolution. Look back over any considerable period of years, and the power of the Crown has sensibly diminished. The nobility may retain the same nominal rights, but within a hundred years their relative position has been greatly changed. Commerce and manufactures have raised up new powers to counterbalance the power of the agricultural nobles. Formerly legislation was for the advantage of the landholders, that is, for the aristocracy. Now the very pillars of the corn-laws are shaken by these new Samsons of the mill and the workshop. It is hardly twenty years since the Westminster Review was first published. The Radical party was then the horror of conservatism. Now the Radicals are in the comparison conservative, while — a lower deep! — three millions of Chartists, as if emerging from some dark mine, from some subterranean abode of night and despair, have come up to the day and pretend to rights. The Reform Bill has thrown new power into the hands of the people. As great changes have taken place in political religion. Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the Test Laws, the suppression of several Irish Bishoprics, and other acts of the same description have taken from the Church much of her power, so that, compared with her ancient state, she is left almost like giant Pope in *Pilgrim's Progress*, feeble and broken, "grown so crazy and stiff in the joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them." The Irish Church trembles to its foundation, and half of England rebels against the payment of tithes for the support of a

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priesthood whose doctrine and discipline they condemn. The Rebeccaites are filling Wales with confusion, and, as if it were a recently conquered province, the peace is kept in Ireland only by a vast standing army.

Everything in England is calculated to foster a dread of change. There is not much elasticity in her constitution, and various artificial arrangements have made what it has the elasticity of glass rather than of a living substance. To sustain agriculture, the Corn Laws were established; and it is estimated by those opposed to them, that the wheat consumed in England has cost, during the fifty years ending with 1840, above eleven hundred millions of pounds sterling more than it would have done if imported free of duty from Berlin. In order that manufacturers and others may stagger along under this enormous burden, they too must be protected against foreign rivalry by protecting duties. The Poor laws and the Poor-rates reveal the awful wastes and deserts of poverty that surround vast and unnatural accumulations of wealth. While, above all, the national debt presses with crushing weight on all efforts to relieve the nation of its great evils, and deranges prices, rents, business, and all the relations of society. The mighty fabric of English power seems to be built on a quaking bog, or rather over a vast mine, where the fire-damp lies silent and motionless for the moment, but ready to explode if a single torch be thrown into its awful abysses.

These things are mentioned merely to show, how circumstances conspire to make sober men in England conservative. They naturally ask, — what changes can we reasonably look for, from which we can reasonably hope that England shall be put into a better state than she is in now; while all must confess that slight changes may lead on to all the disasters of a revolution. Safety lies in leaving things as they are. A ship whose timbers are unsound can go into port and refit, but to strike out the rotten planks in her hull at sea is destruction. England is at sea — she cannot put into port — she must keep on her way till her destiny is completed. This reasoning may not be correct, but it is natural, and will commend itself to multitudes who, personally, would rather enjoy than fear the excitements of the storm. How much more will it commend itself to those whose element is peace, and all whose

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dignities and advantages depend on things remaining as they are.

In such a state of society, imagine one bred in the Halls of Oxford, living in its retirements, and dependent for his support, his social position and comfort, and for all his prospects, on those very institutions which in case of a revolution would be the first to be attacked, and which without any revolution are obnoxious always to attack. Self-interest makes him peculiarly sensitive to the approach of change. A Fellow or Professor of the University, he is lifted out from collision with the ruder and unpolished mass. His communion is with books. His society is with the dead, who do not change, who always repeat the same words, who are always to be found in the same place, who, whatever their principles, never disturb the living by unexpected threats and violence, by anti-corn-law leagues and Chartist organizations. All his most important personal relations are with the class that profits from the present order of things, and his sympathies are naturally where his relations are. He may at some period of his life have known the trials of the poor scholar, but at length, surrounded by the dignities and immunities of lettered ease, there is nothing in his present state to remind him of the trials of the mass. His whole intellectual, moral and social culture has unfitted him to take part in any revolution. Whoever rises to the top, he is sure to be crushed at the bottom. He looks out from the loopholes of his retreat — from his green bowers of quietness and luxurious ease — and all around, far as the eye can reach, heaves a vast sea of angry men, impatient of their present state, with no fastidious delicacy about disturbing him or his, shaggy and clamorous and gnashing their teeth at the memory of centuries of real or fancied wrong. Again; he and his class are the ones appointed by Act of Parliament to monopolize learning — he has sworn to the Thirty-nine Articles — he is an inhabitant of the University — here he thought himself on sacred ground, set off and *taboed* from vulgar approach. When lo! he learns that the schoolmaster is abroad, and mechanics pretend to study science, and writers on Political Economy appeal from the judgment of the few to that of the many, and even in religion the multitude pretend to demand reasons and to

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form opinions. Half of England profanely declares that it sees no sanctity in the Church, and a quarter of England thinks that the Bench of Bishops might be abated without the world's coming to an end. Even the holy ground of the University is invaded, and exacting Dissenters, never satisfied with what is given to pacify them, demand as a right to be admitted to its privileges, even though they do not sign the Athanasian creed. In the Church itself, multitudes feel no great regard for its forms, and think that if a man be a Christian, he will probably be saved, though he be not regenerated by baptism. All is rude, rough; no refinement, no respect for hereditary rights and immemorial privilege; the low without any proper sense of their inferiority, and the high unaware of their danger. Timid and startled, he looks around for the means of defence.

There are two different courses which such men pursue. Some retreat into the citadel, and surrender up or level the outworks. But others feel that every outwork must be manned, and every point defended, — that the true system is, to put as many obstructions in the way of the enemy as possible, and to surrender nothing till compelled to do so.

Such we conceive, in some sort, to be the position of the leaders of the Oxford theology. They are more or less dependent on the aristocracy, the dispensers of patronage. Their temporal prospects depend on the continuance of the unequal laws and unjust monopolies of which they have the advantage. Their intellectual habits and pursuits, their associations, their interests, their social position, their hopes and their fears, all make them cleave to the old ways, make them not only conservative, but dispose them naturally to maintain all ancient fixtures. It is a position too, which would naturally incline them to look with favor on the divine rights and the large authority of Bishops. Increase the power of the Episcopate, and they are more secure in all they most value. It certainly does not imply any harshness of judgment to think that they will be the supporters of the Divine authority of the Church, much sooner than will they whose consciences are fettered and oppressed by such claims.

What then are the prospects of the Oxford theology? There is of course nothing in it which will commend it to any but Episcopalians; but so far as England is concerned,

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there are many reasons for thinking that *within* the Church it will make great progress. Most of the present Bishops have indeed — some with more, and some with less qualification — decided against its peculiarities. But they will soon pass off the stage and be succeeded by others; and it would be surprising if Oxfordism did not soon rank among its adherents a large part of the Church dignitaries and the clergy, and a very great body of the Episcopalian laity. The folly and absurdity of its great principles are no hindrance to its spread. Folly and absurdity are never weights, far more often are wings, to opinions. Men feel that they ought to make sacrifices to religion, and there is nothing which they are more ready to sacrifice than their common sense. Calvinism, Millerism, Mormonism, and a thousand other modes of faith equally unreasonable, show how readily this is done.

The first cause of the spread of the Tractarian theology is to be found in those circumstances which make men conservative in England. A vast party there must always be conservative, and that in the extreme sense of the word. Oxfordism appeals to them and presents claims which they cannot set aside. It is the religion of the Prayer Book. As a matter of fact, it does pretty fairly represent the primitive Anglican Church. To be sure, the attempts made during the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth to conciliate the opposing views of the Sovereign, the people, the Catholics, the Lutherans, and various other interests, and to accommodate the formularies of the Church to their conflicting prejudices, have filled the formularies themselves with inconsistencies. But passing over these, the Tractarians do stand on substantially the same ground as that occupied by the framers of the Liturgy and the Articles. The main difference is, that they have changed their front — that the latter looked *from*, while the former are looking *to* Rome. But notwithstanding this, they cleave to the old fixtures. They stand by the old paths. They abhor all change. And they will thus secure the sympathy and support of Conservatism. And not from this circumstance alone, but also because their principles are of a kind to keep things as they are. They would put power into the hands of the higher classes alone. They would establish things as they were before men began to speculate on the

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rights of the people. It is a religion to secure the higher orders in their various monopolies of power and privilege, and to make the lower classes tame, submissive and resigned. It makes it the duty of the Sovereign and the Bishop to issue commands and declare laws, and the duty of the common people to bear and obey, asking no questions. Passive faith and passive obedience are its great virtues. In this way Oxfordism appeals to the conservative feeling in England.

Again, the Government of England is aristocratic. The Constitution places, either directly or indirectly, nearly all the power in the hands of the nobility or of those whose sympathies are with them. They do in fact constitute the State. The Church by various circumstances of dependence is, always has been, and never can be more in its political connexions than a tool of the State.* The

* These views are not impugned, as we conceive, by the present, temporary and accidental, opposition of Oxfordism to the policy of Government. It is said, that "the Irish Church Act of 1833, which abolished several of the Irish Bishoprics, was the immediate occasion of the publication of the Tracts." Their authors were alarmed at the interference of Government, and dreaded lest the disposition manifested to yield to the demand for Church reform should prepare the way for its ultimate disorganization and destruction. Let the ark be touched by unholy hands, and it would soon be trampled under godless feet. In the language of the *London Quarterly* of May 1843:—"They feared that the power of the State, guided by Dissenting interests, was about to oppress and degrade the Church, and they were driven, we may almost say instinctively, to seek strength for the Church within herself, by a return to the principles and practices of those ancient times when her intrinsic force counterbalanced, nay, defied the power of the State." But this hostility of the Tractarians to the policy of Government means little. It is the opposition not of foes, but of friends, who seek the strength and permanence of both. It is as if, when an army was in an enemy's country, the soldiers and petty officers, alarmed at the relaxation of authority at head-quarters, should call on the Commanding General to exercise a more rigorous discipline. The Church and the State are too closely identified in all their interests to allow of any serious quarrel between them. At any rate, while the Monarchy remains as it is now, the Church will never alienate herself from it. It would be as if a tree were to cut up its own roots and sever itself from the soil whence it drew all its nourishment.

Nor, on the other hand, can the Church ever defy the State. The Catholic Church even, when at the strongest, could not do this except for one or two brief intervals, and was never able to break and subdue the Government to her will. That which the Papacy, when she could appeal to the superstitious terrors alike of noble and peasant, could not accomplish, Episcopacy, in an age when she can have little hold on the superstitions of men, and when other great powers and interests have grown up in England that would support the State against her aggressions, will

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Church is as much the instrument of the Government as the army or navy; and for the same reason that it would strengthen the army or navy, it will favor all measures or views which seem fitted to strengthen and extend the power of the Church. Oxfordism, teaching the Divine right of kings and passive obedience on the part of the people, and accumulating power in the hands of the Bishop only to lay it at the foot of the throne, can never fail of finding favor with the head of the Church. If it seem to have any reasonable chance of securing general acceptance with the people, it will be certain to have the sympathy and favor of the Government; and governmental sympathy, coming in the shape of enormous patronage, will in its turn be a powerful support to the new opinions. Ambitious young men among the clergy will easily find strong arguments in favor of those views through which the way lies to Cathedral stalls and Bishops' palaces.

There are few who do not love power, few who are not tempted by the offer of it. Oxfordism puts the keys of heaven and hell into the hands of the clergy. Though they be destitute of intelligence and destitute of virtue, mere ordination invests them with Divine power. It gives them authority to declare the truth, relieves them from the necessity of giving a reason, and requires the laity to submit. The history of human nature, as modified and colored by hierarchies, would lead us to expect that the greater prospect of patronage, the favor of the higher classes on whom that patronage depends, and the temptation of power would secure to Oxfordism nearly all the young men who now enter the Church. And such as we should expect, appears to be the fact. The strength and hope of Oxfordism, we are told, is among the younger clergy.

Oxfordism will find another powerful support, among the laity, in the natural or acquired *vis inertiæ* of the conscience and intellect. The great mass of men and women certainly do not, and probably never will, form their religious opinions from any serious thought and examination of their own. Immersed in one worldly pursuit or another,

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not attempt. There may be momentary jars and disagreements and lovers' quarrels, but she will continue to be, what she always has been, the subservient instrument of the State, so long as the State will protect her.

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they are anxious to have some one who will take the responsibility in religion. Any one who will affirm that he knows he is right, and that whoever does not receive his notions must sink into perdition, will have followers. In this lies the power of fanatics and zealots. They take the responsibility. Their followers feel relieved from the guilt and danger of error, when their leaders invoke it all to rest on themselves.

To this worldliness, this mental and moral sluggishness, this dread of taking responsibility in religion, and to the timid feeling which craves some authority on which to lean, the Anglican Church addresses itself in most persuasive words. 'We are the true, primitive, Apostolic Church. The Holy Spirit reaches men through our ordinances and sacraments alone. We hold the truth. Our Bishops are the Divinely appointed successors of the Apostles. The Church of England is the true interpreter of the Scriptures. It is our duty, solemn and awful as it is, to do all the thinking and to divide the word of truth among the people. Submit to the paternal care and guidance of the Church. If you speculate, you are in danger of heresy. Faith is the great virtue. If you are in doubt, go to those guides that God has given you — to the Prayer Book or the priest.' Not only is the Episcopal Church the appointed guide of all true believers, but out of its pale, cut off as one must be from that Divine grace and regeneration which come through the sacraments, there is no ordinary hope of salvation. This is the real doctrine of their Creeds and Liturgy; and this great point Oxfordism especially insists on. A sect which takes this ground of infallibility, and which unhesitatingly dooms to perdition all out of its own petty enclosure, will always, if we may trust the history of the last eighteen hundred years, have a multitude of ready and submissive followers. And all the more, when its offices are filled by men respectable for education, character, manners, and social position.

Many other causes are at work. Some come to these views through sober study and unbiassed conviction. The sentimental, and those having a certain sort of after-dinner imagination depending on external stimulants for its excitement, and the lovers of the beautiful in art and outward arrangement, and all of that large class in a luxurious state

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of society whose minds are fastidious but sluggish, and who want emotions, but emotions of a refined and quiet kind, are attracted by the forms of the Church. The sensitive lovers of social order, shrinking from the strife, the violent and often vulgar contests, of Dissent, take shelter in a Church where the minister will preach and pray according to law; where they will be shocked by no novelties; where they know beforehand just how he will pray, and do not care how he preaches. Then there is a pious, humble leaning on authority — a sentiment weak, but respectable — which naturally finds its way to those who, from Bishops' palaces and from the House of Lords, have the moral courage to proclaim themselves the representatives of the Apostles. Then there are multitudes who find the regeneration of baptism easier than the regeneration of a new life, who are ready to sign Thirty-nine Articles and thirty-nine more on the top of them, if faith will save them, who like to think that a solemn feeling in the church will compensate for worldliness during the week, and who are glad to be partakers of the divine life, if they can gain it by partaking of the sacraments. These, and such as these, naturally cleave to a Church which makes so much of creeds and sacraments and forms.

But the real power of this movement and its prospect of successful and permanent progress depend mainly, not on these causes, but on those upon which we have chiefly dwelt: — on the feeling of conservatism, which is the natural and must be one of the strongest feelings of the privileged and more powerful classes of England, and with which Oxfordism is united in the closest bonds of alliance; on the power and privilege which these views throw into the hands of the clergy; and on the patronage of Government, which is sure to be with this party as soon as it shows that there is any prospect of its having popular sympathy on its side. These are solid, substantive, permanent causes of growth, independent on the ordinary fluctuations of the times. And in the long run, the constant force, though in itself feeble, has the advantage over the irregular and fluctuating one, however great this may occasionally be.

It is difficult to over-estimate the influence of these constant forces. For example, the existence of the Episcopal Church itself, in its present form, is probably very much

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dependent on its Prayer Book. One little fixture of that kind, never changed, is often sufficient to preserve the identity and to determine the measures of a large sect. It is like a pile driven down in the middle of a river. It is a small thing; but no one wants the trouble of drawing it up out of the mud in which it is fixed. There it remains. Great ships, that go up and down, turn out for it. Floating rubbish collects around it. An island is formed, the bed of the river itself is changed, a wharf is built out to it, or a lighthouse erected on it. Every thing that is moveable finally conforms to whatever is fixed, however small in itself.

But Oxfordism has for its support, not merely a creed and a liturgy, but great interests, national and individual, which must be as fixed and durable as the British throne. It is for this reason, that we cannot help believing that its views will, in substance and in some modified form, be those of the National Church. We do not mean to say, that every notion of the Tractarians will be adopted, nor that the more heated spirits among them will guide the policy of the Establishment. Doubtless extravagancies will be lopped off, its leanings towards Catholicism will be corrected and checked, and perhaps the arrogance of its tone may be somewhat abated. But it seems evident to us, that this movement owes its origin and its progress thus far, not merely to the reveries of a few enthusiastic dreamers, but to great and permanent causes, that it is in accordance with the spirit and the words of the formularies of the Episcopal sect, and that the principles which the Tractarians have set forth, limited and qualified as they undoubtedly will be by men more prudent than those who have thus far taken the lead in propagating them, will become and very likely continue to be the principles of the English Church.

What we have said applies, it should be remembered, to Oxfordism, only in its progress within the bounds of the Church. There is no reason for supposing that it will be able to extend itself and gain proselytes from those who are now outside those bounds. Oxfordism can have no charms for Dissent, which will win back to the bosom of the Establishment those who were repelled by less arrogant pretensions.

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But will it become identified with Catholicism? We think not. The fears of those who apprehend this are groundless. The celibacy of the clergy, and the great domestic and social changes which such an event would involve, would probably be sufficient to prevent it. But the great reason for thinking that the English Church can never be blended with the Romish is, that great and permanent national interests forbid it. It would depose the King from his supremacy over the Church and install the Pope in his place. It would transfer patronage to a foreign power. The Church would no longer be the mere instrument *of* the State, but a rival, even though a subordinate power, *in* the State. As in the days of Becket and Henry II., the Primate and the King would be rivals, and the Church would strive to dictate, instead of waiting submissively to be dictated to, by Parliament.

In these views of the progress of Oxfordism we have left out of the account the growth of the mind, the progress of knowledge and truth, and the power of conscience, for we have little reason to suppose that they will have much to do either in advancing or retarding this movement. In past times, with now and then a brief struggle to the contrary, the religious faith of the majority of the English people has for the most part been determined by the will of the King, by Acts of Parliament and by the interests of the State; and it can scarcely be doubted, that for a long time to come, the political and economical condition of England will have more to do with giving character to the Established Church than any thing else.

Another and different question is, — what will be the ultimate fate of this movement?

Oxfordism may be regarded as an experiment for breathing new life, infusing new blood, into the withered limbs of the Establishment. Circumstances render it probable that it will in some modified form become the religion of the English Church, and that for a time it will strengthen it. We have heard it compared, and we think justly, with the attempts made by Julian to re-vivify the old and worn-out Paganism of the Roman empire. But as with him, so in the present case, the experiment comes too late. It is a stimulant administered to a dying man. Doubtless Episcopacy, in some form or other, will continue to exist as one

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of the forms of sectarian organization. But everything gives augury, as it seems to us, (though we suppose that few, with the vast and solid power of England before their eyes, will agree with us in these forebodings of change) that the days of the English Church, as a national Establishment, are numbered. It appears hardly possible that the Irish Church should long continue to exist. It is too oppressive and too manifestly unjust. Half of the English people are already Dissenters. Within the last thirty years changes have taken place in the English Government almost equivalent to a revolution, and everything shows that these changes have but just begun. Any radical change in the British Constitution will probably begin with the State religion. Most potent political and economical reasons urge the Catholics of Ireland and the Dissenters of England to rid themselves of the burden of a Church which scorns and lords it over them, which first compels them to pay tithes for its support, and in return taunts them with heresy, shuts them out from the seats of learning, would gladly as far as it has the power crush them with civil disabilities, and while it excludes them as far as it can, places its own Bishops in the seat of empire in the House of Lords.

Nothing, we believe, keeps the National Church, as such, in existence, but the conviction of all in it and of many out of it, that the subversion of its power and national character, unholy as it is, would be the signal for stripping the nobility of their privileges, and for a disastrous revolution in the English State. With the history of France before their eyes, they pause before the awful gulf, and bear the evils which they now endure, rather than encounter those which are unknown and to which such a change might lead the way.

But notwithstanding these conservative influences, everything in England seems converging towards a revolution — peaceful and gradual we believe it will be, because the real strength of England, organized and unorganized, on all sides would combine to suppress any violent changes — but still a revolution. It may be the slow work of many years; but it has already made no slight progress, and it is advancing with the steadiness, though it may be with the silence, of the tide. Let it continue to advance as rapidly as it has

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done since the conclusion of the European wars on the fall of Napoleon, and how long will it be before its mighty currents begin to wash and wear against the foundations of the Church? The time is, we believe, rapidly approaching, when the Episcopal Church as a State religion will come to an end, and Oxfordism will disappear with the National Church of which it is only an accident. What form religion may take when she emerges out of the chaos, no man may venture to conjecture.

As to Oxfordism in this country: — whatever rouses and quickens any sect will increase and extend its power. At this moment Episcopacy is apparently on the increase, and if we except the Baptists, Methodists, and Universalists, and one or two other Churches, is spreading perhaps as fast as any sect among us. Oxfordism has vivified its lethargy for the time being; and there are various reasons, such as, for example, the power and dignity it gives to the priesthood, which will very likely cause it to be received with favor by the younger clergy. Its best chance of permanence and progress depends on the great fund which the Episcopal Church holds in the city of New York. This is one of those fixed and constant elements of power and influence, of which we have spoken. If this fund should be for a series of years under the control of those who embrace the Oxford theology, the Puseyites will form a large and powerful sect.

But in this country Oxfordism is an exotic. It may flourish for a season — it may be the rage for a summer; but it does not belong here. It is alien to our institutions. Episcopacy, and especially this Oxford form of it, has closest relations with Monarchy. James was right in his maxim, "no Bishop, no King." But Oxfordism has no affinities with Republicanism. It takes hold of no strong feeling or sympathy in the people, meets no great want, can rely on no great and general interest. It must be remembered that we are not discussing the truth or falsehood of the Tractarian notions, but considering those influences which, independently of truth and falsehood, tend to promote or retard the progress of a sect. Viewed in this light, Oxfordism in this country must depend mainly for its existence on those secondary causes to which we have referred — on caprice, fashion, transient admiration and imitation of foreign novel-

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ties, the idea of respectability, the love of form or order, — causes as fluctuating as the waves of the sea, and on which no permanent Church, whose great idea is to keep stationary, can ever be erected.

There is one cause of a more permanent character, which perhaps influences some minds. There are those who feel little confidence in the stability of our institutions. They are full of anticipations of change, disorder and disaster. It is with them somewhat as it was with most men during the disorder and violence of the middle ages. In the midst of universal confusion they wanted something that should be stable — some rock in the heaving seas, beneath whose sheltering lea they might anchor. This element of stability they found in the Catholic Church. So some to whom we have referred, led away by the pretensions of Episcopacy to stability, may think that the steady order and harmony which they want will be found within her bosom. But this cause can have no great influence. Those men who are operated upon by such fears, are generally men of sufficient information to know that the Episcopal sect has been anything but harmonious and united. It certainly has not had more of steadiness and union than Presbyterianism, and far less of both than Methodism. They who wish for something permanent and united must look somewhere else than to Episcopacy.

Putting aside all considerations, as we have purposely done in this article, of truth or error, of wisdom or folly, while in England every thing conspires to make Oxfordism the religion of the National Church, its want of real sympathy with our great principles, with our manners, notions of authority, and institutions, preclude the idea of its having any permanent and general hold on our people. The priesthood may for a time cherish what is so gratifying to vanity in their closets, and speculate about it in their writings, but they will not bring its most offensive and real characteristics into the pulpit. After furnishing for a time a subject for speculation and debate, it will be silently consigned over to the region to which so many past delusions, dreams and follies have gone.

E. P.

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ART. VII. — THE HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE AND AMERICA.*

WE believe this work has been much read, and we rejoice if it be so. We like the spirit of its author, the subject she has chosen, the taste indicated in the public by the success of such works, and the influence they are likely to exert.

To those who question the advance of civilization and doubt the progress of the human intellect, a pleasant sign might gleam from the literary heavens in certain constellations of female authors. Once an authoress was as much wondered at as a comet; now when she appears at intervals before the public, people look on as calmly and happily as when they watch the rising and setting of the moon. She is no dismal portent, but men "bless the useful light;" and the very fact that there is no more wonder, that it is no distinction to be an authoress, indicates a change which pervades the heart and whole frame of society. Woman is changed, and so is man. The relation between the two is changed, is *rationalized*, purified, elevated. We believe that woman need not and should not claim, or even sigh for much more than she now holds in sentiment. And as the sentiment grows truer and deeper, all else will spring from it. As the heart of man understands her best influence, and is made to feel her equality by the blessing it brings him, the outward expression will follow. Marriages will be rightly formed, the customs of society rightly modified, the very laws of the land gradually remodelled, wherever they now infringe upon the true good of woman. No discontented murmurs, hot clamors for rights, nor Amazonian intrepidity in claiming or defending them, will accomplish this; but the quiet, almost unperceived growth of power in woman's own nature, by which she will silently take the place God intended, finding none to thrust back, many to welcome. We believe that her own ignorance and unfitness kept her back for ages; man not being willing, it is true, to remove either, because he did not dream of the nature that slumbered beneath. Now nothing but her own arrogance and

* *The Huguenots in France and America.* By the AUTHOR of "Three Experiments of Living," "Life and Times of Martin Luther," "Life and Times of Thomas Cranmer," &c. Cambridge: John Owen. 1843. 2 vols. 12mo.

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injudicious ambition can delay her progress to such a position, in every respect, as a well-constituted mind can ask.

The day of force is past, long ago. Man no longer rules by brute strength. The day of ridicule is past. He no longer sneers at a woman who reads three or four languages, or writes an unpretending book; hardly at one who undertakes to talk logically or metaphysically. If she write a good book, it will be just as much read, and do just as much good, as if it came from a masculine pen. And if she talk well, her words will be heard as attentively, and will effect as much in the hearer, as if uttered by the strong voice of man.

We know that this is denied, and we grant that, like all rules, this has its exceptions; and that not only mere men of the world and fools, but even wise men sometimes scorn wise words from female lips, and sometimes quote against them foolish old sayings, the not hallowed relics of ancient barbarism. Such exceptions there always will be. But we speak of prevailing sentiment. We only maintain that there is decided, and of late rapid, progress towards the establishment of a genuine equality between the sexes. There are false tests of equality. We do not think equality consists only in the exercise of the very same privileges, but in the establishment of fair equivalents, where the same privileges cannot be conveniently held. We do not think it would be convenient for women to vote or hold public offices, nor that their health, manners, or temper would be benefitted, if law and custom sanctioned the laying on their shoulders such enormous burdens of care and temptation. They find themselves weak enough, and frail enough, spared and sheltered as they now are. Can any one believe that a country would present the spectacle of a region more quietly, discreetly, and firmly governed, if woman had one half of the political control, with her impetuous temperament, and hasty reasonings — half intuitions as they are. and her excitable nerves? We hold, that the position allowed, the influence yielded to woman as an author, — a writer of tracts on Political Economy, for instance, — is a fair equivalent for the doubtful boon of a right to appoint public officers. If she have intellectual and moral ability, she can sway public opinion and action; and what more can the disinterested desire of

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usefulness prompt her to ask? Not notoriety, surely; not incessant concession till nothing more is left. Vanity only can demand the one, pride the other.

We doubt if many women of intelligent minds, settled habits of useful occupation, and true Christian humility, can be found among those who are dissatisfied with the present prospects, we might almost say, position of the sex. We use the term Christian humility, because we mean only such humility as befits both sexes alike. There is such a thing as instinctive, feminine, modesty; which is a grace, a loveliness by itself. But we speak here of Christian humility, which, like every Christian virtue, is required no more in woman than in man. Will not nearly all such women exclaim, 'We feel no privation, we bear no burden, the yoke has never galled our necks?' So at least cry all happy wives and mothers, and they are many in the many blessed homes of New England.

For ourselves, we feel that a woman received as the author of the *Three Experiments of Living* was received, stands on an acknowledged footing of equality with the other sex. The popularity and usefulness of that little series of tracts were prompt and great; and, to speak to the point, they could not have been more so if the author had been a man. We know that they set unreflecting minds at work, and had, at least for a time, a decided effect upon the daily habits of many. The object of the work then was obtained; this is success — all that man or woman asks; and the fact of the author's womanhood did not stand in the way of her success. Is not this undenied equality? What we contend for is simply, that the power of the female sex now rests on its right basis — the intellectual and moral efficiency of the individual, and where that efficiency is great, it has no difficulty in making itself felt in proportion. As to the manner in which it makes itself felt, of what consequence is that? Is there not danger that an undue solicitude about the mode of exercise, the outward show of power, may absorb the energies and waste the capacities, which could do so much for mankind, if brought to bear quietly and directly upon some good work? Are there not peculiarities and foibles enough belonging to woman's nature, to make her humble under the occasional sarcasms of man, at least till she can prove that they are unjust?

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The work before us has the feminine stamp upon it. Few male writers, bringing as much mind and research to the task as our author, would have been satisfied to send it forth without more revision. But there are few women who might not have been glad to find themselves able to produce it. The class of readers throughout the country to whom such a work must be very acceptable is large. They have not time to wade through voluminous histories, nor patience to read dull books of any kind. Yet they have good sense and principle enough to pass their reading hours, not over mere works of amusement, but over such as will really convey some instruction; and to them *The Huguenots* comes recommended as an interesting and profitable book. We see constantly how true is the remark of the author, that "we do but little for History if we cannot invest her with life, clothe her in the habiliments of her day, and enable her to call forth the sympathies of succeeding generations." And the work skilfully serves her beautiful moral purpose in the selection of her subject. "It were well if our slumbering virtue could be roused by the self-sacrificing example of those who relinquished all for principle."

Self-sacrifice! Oh, how many centuries have rolled away since our Master set us the glorious example of complete self-sacrifice for principle, truth, man's good, — and how do we still need the lesson! How should we study it wherever it can be found, in literature and in life!

The annals of France have always seemed to us more confused and less interesting than those of England; partly, it may be, because we have never read a truly complete, skilfully arranged, and well-written history of it. James, the novelist, has given us vivid, and, as we believe, correct glimpses of certain portions. *The Huguenots* necessarily embraces many facts connected with the general history of this nation during an interesting period, and the monarchs of France as they pass before us, fighting, intriguing, revelling, dying, leave as distinct impressions upon our minds when we close the book, as the purer and nobler beings whom they oppressed so long. The fickle, white-plumed warrior of Navarre, and the steadfast, white-haired Coligni stand side by side before us in glorious contrast; the wily

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and bloody Catharine of Medicis, with the noble and spotless Catharine of Bourbon.

This latter princess may be termed the heroine of the work, for it is evidently a labor of love with our author to delineate her rare and beautiful character. To us she has long seemed to float like some pure-robed seraph amid the demon shapes of violence, cunning, and profligacy, that in her time wrestled together for sway in the courts and palaces of France. She was true to the lessons of her admirable mother, and the influences of a childhood passed in domestic retirement. She had the only independence which is ever graceful in woman, that of obeying conscience against the world. Her sex may rejoice that the Disposer cast her lot in such an age and country that every secret virtue grew and stood radiant before men's eyes, because trial and temptation called them forth. Constant in her religious faith when even her beloved brother bowed his princely head in apostacy; constant in love through mighty difficulties, till a higher constancy bade her tear from her heart one whom no upright woman could esteem; constant, to the grave, in a purity of life and manners which was the wonder of those evil days, she was destined to fulfil the most illustrious destiny, in our eyes, to which woman is ever called. The Catholic honored her, the Protestant fondly reverenced her, the bold profligate shrunk humbly from her glance, the virtuous clung to her through all trial. She proved to a whole nation and age, what might have been doubted if she had fallen, that woman's nature can resist the sorest temptations, and exemplify the highest Christian graces.

We do not deem it necessary to give any sketch of the work before us. It either has been, or will be generally read. The very lads of our schools eagerly peruse the adventures of the heroic Amadée, the Huguenot galley-slave. We will close, however, with a few extracts. The first contains the reason why Catharine de Bourbon, with a struggle which cost her health and peace for a season, conquered her deep attachment to the Count de Soissons, and voluntarily relinquished the engagement which her royal brother and the crafty Sully had so long striven in vain to break.

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"It must be acknowledged, that the charges Sully had brought against De Soissons, corroborated by proofs that he had it in his power to give, had sunk deep into Catharine's mind. Circumstances, one after another, crowded on her recollection. For things that had perplexed her in his conduct she now found a clue, and the illusive confidence that had sustained her for so many years was fast fleeting. This appears to have been the bitterest period of her life. She sent for De Soissons, and had long conversations with him. The conviction grew in her mind, notwithstanding all his palliations, that she had been deceived; that his renunciation of the Roman faith had been only a pretence, and that he had engaged, even in the early part of their attachment, to make his union with her subservient to the Catholics. He could not conceal, in this revelation of his character, his bitter enmity to her brother, nor suppress his too well-founded sneers at *his* conversion.

"Even Sully observes, that 'the Princess had but one fault, too great vivacity of temper; in all things else she was noble and generous.' The minister does not seem to have comprehended, that this vivacity of temper arose from a sense of justice and truth, and was founded in deep sensibility.

"The mist was dispelled, which had for so many years obscured her perception of De Soissons' true character. She saw he was a short-sighted politician, a man of the world, without high and honorable principle, changing with the times, and using religion as an engine for his ambition. It was not *deeds* of which she accused him, there had been nothing *treasonable* in his conduct; but the high and holy ties which bound her to him were broken, he was a different character from what she had believed. He was no longer the being that she had loved. 'I have told you often,' said Catharine, 'that you alone could sever the bonds between us; you have done it, and we must part. Difference of religious belief would not have separated us. I should have cherished the hope that we might, in time, have united in one faith. We must part! Find a wife among the daughters of your own people, and leave me to mine.'" — Vol. i. pp. 279 — 281.

The second volume contains an interesting sketch of Gabriel Bernon from the pen of a descendant; and our author seems to regard him with the partiality which his simple and noble excellence deserved. But we believe that, as a body, the French Protestants who took refuge in this country from persecution were men of worth and principle; and we feel that their descendants, so long as they forget not the responsibility it brings, have a right to look back

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with an honest pride on such an ancestry. Well may Mrs. Lee exclaim: —

"We cannot but feel deep sympathy with the Huguenots, driven from the home they had adopted, surrounded by the works of their own hands, the mute though eloquent witnesses of their industry, taste and perseverance, just as they were preparing to sit under the shadow of the trees they had planted. But the properties of their character they could carry with them. Wherever they go, we find them triumphing over the most unfavorable circumstances, and making 'the wilderness to blossom like the rose.' Nor can we be surprised that men who could sacrifice all for the worship of God and a strict adherence to the truth, who would make no compromise with conscience for the quiet possession of their native homes, who could leave the sweet valleys and vine-covered hills of France for the howling wilderness, were sustained by principles so elevated; they were led 'by a pillar of fire by night,' and concealed from their enemies 'by the cloud by day.'" —Vol. ii. p. 65.

"In viewing the refugees, we are apt to lose sight of the peculiar circumstances under which they fled to this country; whole families together, women tenderly educated and unaccustomed to hardship, men of refined and cultivated minds. The very fact, that they came for the right of conscience, bespeaks their moral history. Some few were able to secure a portion of their wealth, others escaped with only their lives; but they all brought with them imperishable virtue, and those accomplishments and mental acquisitions which they had gained in polished society. They could appreciate the wild and romantic character of our country, then literally a new world, and by the culture of the old soften its rugged features. Perhaps there never was a race that had more fully pledged themselves to high and generous deeds. Why should they now relinquish one honorable trait of character, when by a slight compromise of integrity, by a moderate degree of dissimulation, they might have remained in the sunny glades of their childhood, beneath their own roof-tree, and many of them in the splendid halls of their ancestors. Well might they expect to find legal protection in every Protestant country, and we rejoice that they found it here."—Vol. ii. p. 91.

We conclude our extracts with a striking passage, exhibiting a peculiar and refined species of cruelty once common in the galleys of France. Are there still such practices? We can easily conceive them more intolerable to many spirits by whom they have been endured, than the lash to the body. That phrase, "condemned to the galleys

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for life," always fell heavily on our hearts, but our knowledge of the details that must ensue was small, and our horror was but a vague sensation, bringing no such distinct pictures of hopeless, wearing toil and slavery, as the following paragraphs have conjured up.

"One of the hardest labors to Amadée, because the most tyrannical and degrading, was the exhibition to which they were constantly exposed by the officers, for the entertainment of their friends. The galley was cleared anew, and the slaves were ordered to shave, and put on their red habits and red caps, which are their uniform, when they wear any garments. This done, they are made to sit between the benches, so that nothing but heads with red caps are visible, from one end of the galley to the other. In this attitude the gentlemen and ladies who come as spectators, are saluted by the slaves, with a loud and mournful cry of *Hau*. This seems but one voice; it is repeated three times, when a person of high distinction enters. During this salute the drums beat, and the soldiers, in their best clothes, are ranged along the *bande* of the boat, with their guns shouldered. The masts are adorned with streamers; the chamber at the stern is also adorned with hangings of red velvet, fringed with gold. The ornaments in sculpture, at the stern, thus beautified to the water's edge; the oars lying on the seats, and appearing without the galley like wings, painted of different colors, — a galley thus adorned strikes the eye magnificently; but let the spectator reflect on the misery of three hundred slaves, scarred with stripes, emaciated and dead-eyed, chained day and night, and subject to the arbitrary will of creatures devoid of humanity, and he will no longer be enchanted by the gaudy outside. The spectators, a large proportion of whom are often ladies, pass from one end of the galley to the other, and return to the stern, where they seat themselves. The *comite* then blows his whistle. At the first blast every slave takes off his cap; at the second, his coat; at the third, his shirt, and they remain naked. Then comes what is called the monkey-exhibition. They are all ordered to lie along the seats, and the spectator loses sight of them; then they lift one finger, next their arms, then their head, then one leg, and so on, till they appear standing upright. Then they open their mouths, cough all together, embrace, and throw themselves into ridiculous attitudes, wearing, to the appearance of the spectator, an air of gayety, strangely contrasted with the sad, hollow eye of many of the performers, and the ferocious hardened despair of others. To the reflecting mind there can scarcely be any thing more degrading than this exhibition; men, subject constantly to the lash, doomed for life

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to misery, perpetually called upon to amuse their fellow-beings by 'antic tricks.'" — Vol. ii. pp. 160–162.

The beautiful tribute to the memory of Dr. Channing with which the work concludes seems to us the best-written portion; and though to some it may not seem to present itself distinctly in connexion with the main subject, the author evidently felt that it had a connexion; and we think no one can wish it had been omitted. L. J. H.

ART. VIII. — WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

WHAT is Christianity? To this question what various replies are made! Every sect has its own interpretation of the Gospel. Every intelligent believer has his own conception of what it is. They who regard it with equal reverence may differ widely when they come to explain it, for men's apprehensions vary where their appreciation is the same. Let us give our answer; not in the cold, rigid statements of a creed, but in the words which a rejoicing faith adopts, when it seeks utterance for the emotions as well as the convictions which it begets. Others speak confidently. Our belief is not less strong nor happy than theirs. Why then shall not we speak with confidence? We are condemned and misunderstood. Let us, if possible, place ourselves in our true position before and among our fellow Christians. The question which we have proposed concerns us as much as them. We have the same right with them — and it is equally our duty — to make answer before the world. What is Christianity?

We answer first, *it is a Divine communication.* And this we say in respect alike to its source and its character, in reference both to its early history and its inward operation. Christianity came from God, directly and miraculously. It was not of human, but of Divine origin. Christ was a Divine messenger, the chief of all the messengers who ever bore instruction from Heaven to earth. We believe in Christianity as a Divine production, just as we believe that the world in which we live, the material system of

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things, is a Divine production. Man did not make it, and could not make it; it is not a human work. Man did not discover it; it is not the fruit of study, nor the result of insight. It is a revelation — an immediate and extraordinary communication from the Almighty. It is not necessary for us to define the precise method of this communication: we need not attempt to expound, or master the philosophy of inspiration. The terms which we have used are definite enough, and are intelligible by every one. Christianity, we believe, in the first instance came from God to Jesus and his Apostles as a direct illumination, and they delivered it as instruction which they had received immediately from the Divine Spirit. It contained more than could have been collected from the stores of human wisdom, or have been shaped into the form and bearing of a religion for the world by the most laborious skill or the most clear-sighted philanthropy. Upon the first disciples it acted with the force of a Divine influence, and they recognised in its influence the action of truth flowing from God through channels which he had supernaturally opened. And in our times, and in all times since the Gospel was preached by him whom "God anointed with the holy spirit and with power," the action of Christianity, whether upon the individual or on society, has been a Divine action, inasmuch as it has been the action not of what man has discovered, but of what God has promulgated.

We therefore bow to the authority of the Gospel. We allow of no appeal from its declarations of doctrine or duty. When we have ascertained what Christianity teaches, we stand in reverence before the mind and will of God. Our appeal is from all other instruction to this. In the examination of the writings through which we obtain an acquaintance with Christianity, we use all the fidelity which we should exercise in the study of any other documents purporting to contain important matter; and having satisfied ourselves that these are what they purport to be, we interpret them by the same laws which we apply to other writings; and we know not how else to arrive at their meaning. But having by such investigation informed ourselves of the truth as it is in Jesus, we accept that truth, and abide in it, and rejoice in it and glory in it. It is to us "the wisdom of God and the power of God." We do not sacrifice our

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reason on the altar of faith, for we have never found in Christianity any thing repugnant to reason, nor should we expect that a communication from God to man would confound and throw discredit on the highest faculty which he has given to man. But we are willing that reason should be taught, and we place it at the feet of Jesus, to listen — not at his side, to dispute.

Christianity is to us a Divine communication. We receive it, we honor it as such. It is authoritative, it is final with us. We reject much of the belief of other Christians, not because we do not like it, but because we do not find it in the Gospel. We value the good thoughts and wise sayings of past ages. We are thankful for the assistance which those who are toiling along with us in the highway of life can give in surmounting its discouragements or in discerning the forms of things around us. And we trust that future generations will be wiser and better, more far-sighted and more simple-hearted than we. But amidst the past we see one light brighter than all the rest, we hear one voice clearer than all others; and that light we know was kindled by God's own hand, and to that voice we hearken as to the voice of God himself. The help which we get from our fellow-travellers we feel is an insecure and treacherous reliance, when it is not offered in the meekness of a heart which recognises Christ as the infallible guide. And as we anticipate the brighter days of the future, we neither expect nor desire for our race a period when Christianity shall cease to be the sun of the moral heavens. We admire those in our day who consecrate themselves to reform, and we hold in honor the memory of some who in ancient times rose above the absurdities of Heathenism. But we can never place Bentham by the side of Paul, nor name Socrates in the same breath with Jesus. We believe in miracle, in inspiration, in Christianity as a Divine communication.

What is Christianity? We answer, secondly, *it is a message of mercy.* Man lay in the bondage and gloom of sin when Christ appeared as a messenger from God. He had separated himself from his Maker. The consciousness of sin disquieted him. He felt himself to be guilty, and in various ways sought to avert the displeasure which he knew must settle upon him from offended Heaven. Whether

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Jew or Heathen, he recognised a Power above himself, whose authority he had contemned or defied. He felt his need of forgiveness. He saw the necessity of terminating the variance between himself and the unseen Object of his worship. It is one of the most remarkable facts in human history, that man has always been troubled at the thought of his own sinfulness. Conscience has pointed him to One higher than himself, and as he has looked up, he has trembled, for he has felt his unworthiness and ill desert. Hence the holocausts he has heaped on sacrificial altars. Hence the human victims he has immolated. Hence the penances he has inflicted alike on the body and the spirit, and the self-destruction by which he has hoped to atone for his offences. All these things proclaim the universal feeling, where Christianity has not lifted the burthen of guilt from the soul. And where Christianity is known, it has only increased the sense of guilt by giving new force to the great truths of duty and accountableness. Man is now a sinner, everywhere a sinner. Go where we may, we find sin assailing and cleaving to humanity. In the palace and in the hovel, with the student among his books, and with the peasant in the field, is sin to be found, in actual contact with the life of man. Innocence is seen only in childhood, perfection belongs not to earth. That which is universally true is universally confessed, at least in the soul's privacy. There is a universal acknowledgment of the need of pardon. The sinner must be re-instated in the Divine favor, and be delivered from the peril into which his sins have brought him.

Such is the condition and such the consciousness of all mankind. Christianity meets the case which is here represented. It is a message of mercy from the Being in whose presence sin is disloyalty and impiety. God will forgive the sinner who repents and "brings forth fruits meet for repentance." No one need despair, not even the chief of sinners. God will freely forgive those who turn unto him, to do his will. He is reconciled to those who reconcile themselves to him. This is the burthen of the Gospel; and this, perhaps more than any thing else which belongs to it, makes it the Gospel — the glad tidings. God's mercy is sufficient for the wants of the world. This was the truth which Jesus taught. Yea, more; it was the truth which he

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died to place beyond all denial. Calvary attests the mercy of God. The cross has established it forever.

Yet welcome as the revelation of mercy must be to the conscience-stricken sinner, many have been withheld by their fears from embracing it. The Christian doctrine of mercy has been disfigured and encumbered by human theories, till its divine features could scarcely be discerned beneath such perversions. We believe in this mercy, as it stands in the Gospel, — free, full, and imposing only the condition of a return to duty through a living faith. The man who believes in Christ so heartily as to forsake all, that he may follow Christ, will obtain pardon for his past offences, and need no longer anticipate the Divine displeasure. His sins are forgiven, for in him the atonement has taken effect — the reconciliation, that is, which restores him from a disobedient to an obedient child, from a rebellious to a loyal subject.

In the views which we entertain of the Divine mercy we differ considerably from large numbers of our fellow Christians, who think we do not give a sufficiently prominent place to this mercy. It seems to us strange, that we should be so misunderstood. We flee to the mercy of God as our only refuge; we cling to it, as did the ancient Israelite to the horns of the altar, as where neither vengeance nor despair can follow us. We would not give up our confidence in the mercy of God for all that heaven and earth could offer; for without it heaven would be no heaven, and earth would be a hell. And we cherish this confidence, because Christ has given us encouragement and instruction to this effect, and has even died that it might be sealed in his blood. *Therefore* do we believe in a mercy large enough even to cover our guilt. When men ask us, what reliance or hope we provide for the sinner whom we call to repentance, we reply, — 'That which Christ provided — the mercy of God.' Yes; we believe in mercy, announced, pledged, applied in Christ.

What is Christianity? We answer thirdly, *it is an instrument of regeneration.* We have seen in what a state Christianity found the world; a state of guilt, disobedience and estrangement from God. Man was enslaved and polluted, for passion had corrupted him, and temptation had led him captive. Mankind were sunk in depravity. God had

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"made man upright, but they had sought out many inventions;" by which the soul was deluded, debased, and enfeebled. Christianity came to raise man out of this state. It came to deliver him from his sins, through repentance and a change in heart and life. It came to reform the character, and so to renew the man, — to change, not his nature, but its exercises, — to establish a new dominion within him, and to open a new world to his view in what he saw around him. Therefore was the instruction of Christ directed first and chiefly to this point. He sought the sinner, that he might rescue him from his degradation; and he addressed him as a sinner, that he might at once remind him of what he must do. The regeneration of the human heart, by which its dispositions, desires and purposes should be deprived of the evil quality which affected them, and be filled with that holy element which should convert them into acceptable offerings on the altar of religion, this was the object for which the Gospel was bestowed in view of the immediate wants of man, and this the result which it was intended in its primary action to accomplish. This result was witnessed. There is not a more remarkable chapter in the history of our race, than that which records the change which Christianity wrought in the early believers, — turning selfishness into love, and avarice into generosity, and sensuality into self-denial; making the effeminate manly, the ambitious humble, the revengeful meek, the formalist a spiritual worshipper, the irreligious devout and exemplary; converting a persecutor into an Apostle, a hypocritical disciple of Moses into a sincere follower of Jesus, an idolatrous and profligate Pagan into a real Christian! What more could we say than is conveyed by this last expression to him who understands, on the one hand the requisitions of Christianity, and on the other the habits of Pagan life? What a contrast do they present! Yet how often was it realized in the experience of the same individual.

Such was the operation of Christianity in its commencement. But its work is still regeneration. Men are still corrupt. The world is full of wickedness. Men are depraved; depraved by their own will and act, but only the more depraved because their will consents and their own act aims the blow at the soul's integrity. They need

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to be converted, to be changed, now, as much as in the days of Christ and his Apostles. They need to have their attention arrested, their thoughts turned in upon themselves, their souls cleansed, their lives reformed. The visible change will in most instances, perhaps, be less strongly marked, but the effect which may be traced to the Gospel will be scarcely less stupendous, and in no degree less important, than was produced in Jerusalem or Corinth.

We believe therefore in regeneration — as a work which it is the office of Christianity to effect by bringing the soul to a voluntary relinquishment of all its evil habits and the adoption of new principles and exercises. We believe in depravity — as the condition into which all mankind are brought by the force of temptation acting upon ignorance and weakness; in human, but not in natural depravity; in universal, but not in total depravity; in acquired, but not in hereditary depravity. We believe that the first step in obedience is repentance. We believe in Christianity as the great instrument of regeneration.

What is Christianity? We answer, fourthly, ***it is a means of spiritual education.*** Man was created for a high excellence. Every thing within and around him proclaims this. His endowments point out progress as the law of his being. His circumstances lay upon him a discipline which finds its only explanation in its fitness to exercise and train his nobler faculties. Human nature is a contradiction to itself, and human life a problem beyond our solution, if we were not made to achieve a high destiny. Man was created for perfection, as was every thing else. But everything below him reaches its perfection by an involuntary growth; and that which is above him, he has reason to believe, is subject to the same law, of an intelligent and self-induced progress, with himself. He must secure his own perfection by toil and warfare, by patience and long perseverance, by a voluntary adoption and an earnest pursuit of the loftiest aims which can invite human endeavor. These aims are spiritual. It is spiritual training therefore which he needs. He needs to be addressed, instructed, and helped as one in whom spiritual powers of immeasurable compass are concealed. There are no limits which language can describe, or imagination define, to the growth of the soul. It was meant by the Creator to put forth new energy and

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to reap new satisfaction through its whole course. Every year must find it wiser, stronger, richer than the previous year. In manhood it must be more vigorous than in youth, and in old age have a goodness that time shall have ripened to a still fuller expansion. Advancement, ascent, should be its constant purpose; acquisition, conquest, must be the title of its whole experience. 'Never to rest, but ever to rise,' expresses the condition on which the Infinite Father has offered it a participation in his own intelligence and happiness.

But in this perpetual progress man needs counsel and help. For it is a conflict, we have said, which he must maintain. Freedom, purity, perfection he can gain only by hard struggle. He must work out his own salvation from much of error and infirmity, even after the dominion of evil has been cast off. He needs therefore guidance, encouragement and support. All these, and all else which he needs in his pursuit of the end for which he was created — advice, example, command, persuasion, in a word, all the instruction and assistance which it is possible for him to receive — Christianity either affords or promises. We shall never understand, nor duly appreciate Christianity till we contemplate it from this point of view. It is the instructer as well as the purifier of the soul, the educator as truly as the redeemer of the race. Man is redeemed from sin, only that he may be educated for the largest and purest excellence. He is called to repentance, that he may be afterwards called to "glory and virtue."

We believe in the possibility of a continual progress towards perfection, because we believe that it is made our duty, and because we see in Christianity the means for enabling us to accomplish what is required by the Divine law. As in the death of Christ we see a pledge of mercy, so in his life we read the assurance of success. "Because I live, ye shall live also," are words, which, as we interpret the term "life," are full of meaning. With us there is no life where there is not growth, a growth which manifests itself in effort and crowns itself with victory. As we believe that man is never so fallen that he need sink into hopeless ruin, so do we believe that he can never attain such an eminence of character that he may not rise higher. And as we believe that no one is so degraded that the

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motions of a spiritual life may not be quickened in him, we also believe that no one has acquired such superiority to temptation that he needs not to maintain a watchful humility.

We believe moreover in Christianity as the spring of all social improvement. We have no confidence in any scheme for the advancement of society which is not built upon faith in the Gospel. We do not want intelligence without faith. It is like giving the steam-engine power without direction. Disaster and ruin must be the result. An educated people without the restraining influences of Christianity would only be a nation of accomplished scoundrels. Neither do we believe in the efficacy of circumstances without the operation of Christian truth in the soul. In other words, we do not believe in any permanent or real amendment in society, except through the rectification of individual character. Christianity reaches social abuses through personal regeneration, and secures the highest order of the social state by evolving the spiritual life in the different parts. Christianity must have universal prevalence and universal control; this is our belief. It must sanctify the meanest employment and determine the worth of the highest station. Judges must clothe themselves with its purity, and rulers with its authority. The citizen must be a Christian in his political relations, and government be Christian in all its action. Like the invisible providence of God which holds together the material world, this Divine religion must hold together the moral world; and as that numbers "the very hairs of our heads," so this must govern our least important or least deliberate purpose. 'Philosophy the guide of life,' said the ancients; 'Christianity the guide of life,' say we. The guide of life in all conditions and all places — public and private — from the first prayer of childhood to the failing accents of the death-bed. We believe in the constant influence of Christianity as the means of spiritual education for man.

What is Christianity? We answer, fifthly, *it is a revelation of another world.* We say, of another world, rather than of another life, because Christianity does not merely teach that we shall live again. It announces more than the fact of immortality; it proclaims retribution, and communicates some information respecting its laws and circum-

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stances. To have disclosed a future state of being alone, would have but partially relieved the want of man. This indeed was an immense addition to the amount of human knowledge. As *we* read the books of Providence and Scripture, it appears to us that we are indebted to the Gospel for a clear and authoritative revelation of an existence beyond the grave; for Providence seems to us to afford no decisive testimony on this subject, and although the later Hebrew Scriptures may contain allusions to the doctrine, they do not present it as a part of Divine revelation. Men believed in immortality before Christ came; but they believed on insufficient grounds — on grounds which would not bear the test of philosophical scrutiny. We believe in the immortality of man because he whom the Father sent, the true and faithful witness, has spoken concerning it in unequivocal terms. Therefore do we recognise in Christianity the author of a hope which overcomes the fear of death and penetrates the gloom of the grave. Therefore do we account Christianity the great Comforter of man in his sorrow, who soothes his bereavement with visions of heavenly life, and teaches him to say of the departed, that they are gone, not that they are lost.

But the instruction of the Gospel does not cease at this point. If it did, although it might solace the bereaved, it would not hold out sufficient motive to man in his conflict with evil. He must know, not only that he shall live again, but that he shall there receive the recompense of his "patient continuance in well doing" here. He must know too that negligence and transgression here will be followed by a righteous retribution hereafter. The Divine law of duty — constant and progressive duty — must have its sanctions, and since they are not drawn in sufficient force from human experience in this world, they must be drawn from the certainty of future judgment. Christianity brings them thence, and applies them to the soul's sensibility, awakening its fear, while it stimulates its hope, and by the terrors as well as the mercies of the Lord persuading it to render a steadfast obedience.

We believe in a retribution after death — a retribution just, strict, and sure to fall upon every soul that will not fear God and do his will. We do not believe that a finite sin can deserve, or under the government of a holy God can

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receive infinite punishment; but we do believe that he who dies in his sins must endure suffering in another world, of which the gnawing worm and the unquenchable fire are but faint emblems; and we believe also that so long as a soul continues impenitent, it will continue to suffer. We think moreover that through Christianity we learn what are the essential principles on which this retribution will be administered; the first among them in clearness and solemnity being these, — that to whom much has been committed, of him will much be required; and that condemnation will be apportioned to character, the most guilty being visited with the heaviest woe. In regard likewise to them who shall be counted worthy to inherit the blessedness of the Father's presence, we learn that they shall be rewarded according to the fidelity which they shall have manifested on earth; that there will be difference of condition, and not a broad uniformity, in heaven. We gather too from the express disclosures of the Gospel, as well as by inference from the truths which we have noticed, that the future will be a social state. And we conclude from the manner in which it is described, that it must be a state of progress, and not of stationary, unchangeable excellence — of happiness, or of misery, incapable of increase.

These are our persuaions concerning another world, drawn from the Christian Scriptures. They are clear, precise, solemn and authoritative. We dare not believe less than we have now repeated, because we presume not to set aside the teaching of Christ. We dare not believe more, because we do not find that he has taught more. We believe in future retribution with just as strong a faith as in human immortality. If we doubted the one, we should doubt the other. We believe in another world, as it has been opened to our view through the Gospel. And we rejoice with trembling, as we stand before the spectacle which is there presented, and behold mercy and judgment seated together upon the eternal throne.

What is Christianity? We answer now, on a review of what we have said, that it is a Divine communication, that it is a message of mercy, that it is an instrument of regeneration, that it is a means of spiritual education, and that it is a revelation of another world. We might add yet other replies, but these are sufficient. If they do not

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embrace all that a grateful faith might suggest in answer to the inquiry, they exhibit the principal elements of "the glorious Gospel of Christ." If we must have a Confession of Faith, these shall be its five points. Inspiration, mercy, regeneration, progress, retribution, — these words shall designate our articles of belief. Inspiration, which speaks of God, the Source of truth; mercy, which proclaims man a sinner, and meets his wants as such; regeneration, which denotes the change in his character which is indispensable to a Christian life or hope; progress, by which the soul presses on towards perfection; and retribution, which discloses the secrets of immortality and judgment. All this knowledge, influence and benefit have come through Christ, the one Mediator between God and man. On his name we lean as on an immoveable rock; and in him, "though now we see him not, yet believing, we rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

The replies which we have now given to the question before us have not only a positive value; they furnish also an exposure of the misstatements to which many in the community lend a ready ear. We will extend this article only so far as to notice two or three such examples.

We are charged with undervaluing revelation, and of placing it on the same ground of authority with reason. We have, on the contrary, made the broadest distinction between them, and asserted the superiority of revelation as the only authoritative guide of faith or practice. There is no sect in the Christian Church which bows with a more willing deference to the mandates of revelation when they have been once ascertained. We are anxious, indeed, not to substitute superstition for intelligent faith, and we cannot surrender our right of judging what is the word of God to every enthusiast or fanatic who may come to us in his own name or in the name of any Assembly, ancient or modern, and claim submission to his edicts. That which we hold to be revelation, we regard as of supreme authority. Reason may interpret and apply, but it may not set aside the Divine will. It must be a pupil and a servant in the household of faith.

We are charged, again, with depreciating the Scriptures, and with perverting or adulterating them to suit our purposes. To suit our purposes! Yes, that is the language

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which is used; as if we had some wicked scheme at heart, which we were bent upon carrying through at any cost of conscience or honor. But, we ask, who pay more true respect to the Scriptures than we? For to them we go that we may learn what is "the Gospel of the blessed God;" and as we refuse to receive any other representation of this Gospel than what we find there, it is plain that in proportion to the value we set upon the Gospel must be the regard we bestow upon the Scriptures. We claim indeed the right of examining and interpreting the Bible for ourselves — a right which we accord to others of every name, and we resist by fair argument as well as by passive unbelief the attempt to impose upon us as a part of Scripture that which was never written by the sacred authors. We distinguish too in regard to the relative importance of different parts of the Bible. We value the Old Testament as the record of a previous dispensation of Divine commandment, and as it contains the history of a special part of the Divine Providence; but we do not go to the Old Testament for the Gospel of Christ. We read with a reverence altogether peculiar whatever was written by the Apostles of Jesus, but we hold in still higher estimation what was said by our Lord himself. The Bible is to us a *sacred* book. We have seen so much mischief resulting from a vague use of language on this subject, that we may have been too careful to define our views of the precise character of the Scriptural documents. But we have wished that all emotion should have a basis of truth; and knowing how dear the Scriptures were to us, we may not have felt so much as we might the importance of treating them in a manner which others could not misconstrue. Once then for all let us say, that we value the Bible above all price, that we honor it as preserving an authentic record of Divine communications, and especially of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ, the greatest of all God's messengers, and that we would rather see every other book destroyed, and science, literature and art reduced to their primitive condition, than the Bible taken from our daily use, or the use of those who, with us, must go to its pages for "the words of eternal life."

It is said of us, that we do not honor Christ. And the whole ground of this imputation is, that we do not believe

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him to be God. For we receive his instructions as Divine, his commandments as authoritative. We listen to his words and we study his life, that we may be made wise in the things which pertain to the kingdom of Heaven. We regard his character as our model, and his cross as the anchor of our hope. We believe in him as Saviour, Lord, and Mediator. All this is included in what we have already said. How unjust then the charge, that we do not honor Christ! If faith, gratitude, love, reverence and obedience enter into the honor which should be paid him, then do we honor him, as we honor no other except God, whom he declared to be greater than himself. In the Scriptural sense, we honor him "as we honor the Father," that is, with as true a reverence and as religious a sentiment; for in him we see the representative of the Father's glory. But we cannot place him on an equality with the Father, for then we should confound the plainest distinctions and impeach the truth which he delivered. God, first and alone in our regard; but next Christ, also alone in those relations to us which he shares with no one else.

It is said, that we do not speak with sufficient force of the evil of sin. Yet we declare that the immediate object of the Gospel was to break down the dominion of sin. We regard the mission of Christ as the most decisive rebuke of sin that could be given, and his life as a testimony against it only less emphatic than his death. We consider reconciliation to God, through the renunciation of evil courses and the culture of inward purity, to be the great achievement of Christianity in the case of every one who comes under its power. We believe that it was sin which made the Gospel necessary, that the mercy which it brought was what man most wanted, and the regeneration which it effects was what he himself felt the need of, even if he made no attempt to secure a better experience. We are accused of not believing in regeneration. And yet in our view this was one of the chief purposes of the ministry to which Christ was appointed. What could we say, what could we believe, that would indicate a more positive sense of the evil of sin?

It is reported concerning us, that we do not preach retribution. We have said in this article only what we have

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always maintained, that after death cometh the judgment. Perhaps we have not pressed this theme upon the conscience as cogently and frequently as we ought. Its solemnity has caused us to approach it with an awe that may have checked our speech. But who that ever attended on the services of our churches can have failed to perceive, that our faith embraces the revelation of a future judgment? If we have been less forward than others to try here our powers of description, we have felt that here least of all was description in place. It is not description, but affirmation that is needed; the conscience and the imagination of the hearer when awakened outrun the words of the preacher. Judgment and retribution belong to a spiritual rather than a material experience; and spiritual things must be spiritually discerned. It has been our aim therefore to quicken the conscience, rather than to inform the intellect; to establish the certainty, rather than to portray the methods of retribution.

But we have spent time enough upon the erroneous conceptions of our belief which prevail around us. We should be glad, if we could bring others to lay aside their prejudices and see us in our true relation to the Gospel — as its advocates and disciples. We should be still more glad, if we could induce them to interpret the Gospel as we interpret it, that it might stand forth to their view in the same simple and majestic proportions in which it appears to us. But what we most desire is, that it may produce in us the fruits of a true discipleship. Sooner or later the Gospel of Christ must vindicate its own purity from the misconceptions with which it has been loaded. We may hasten that time, and be permitted to see its dawn. Or causes which we cannot control may baffle our efforts and disappoint our hopes. But of one thing we will never suffer ourselves to be deprived — our confidence in the Gospel as Divine and sufficient! Divine, in its origin, and its character; sufficient, for all the purposes which it came to accomplish, and all the uses for which it was designed. One disappointment may we never incur — the disappointment, oh how bitter and how deplorable! — of finding, as the consequence of "holding the truth in unrighteousness," that the Gospel has become to us not "a savor of life unto life," but "of death unto death." It is "the glorious Gospel;" glo-

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rious in respect to its Author, its messenger, and its contents; and glorious in its effects upon those who receive and obey the truth. But the folly of man may turn even the grace of God into a means of harm, and the very Gospel of salvation into an occasion of ruin. Christianity compels no love, extorts no service. It renews and sanctifies no one against his will. Faith must receive, and obedience must use the Gospel, or its possession will but enhance our guilt and may seal our condemnation.

Christianity is God's "unspeakable gift." But it is a gift to be used; to be *used;* not to be laid aside, as the Bible which contains the history of this wonderful display of God's interest in man is often laid where its gilded leaves and rich covers may be seen, but where it remains for days and weeks unopened; not to be made the subject of an empty admiration or a superficial reverence; but to be *used* for the purposes for which it was given. These were the redemption of the sinner and the improvement of the believer. It was given for spiritual uses, and for spiritual ends should it be used. He whom the Gospel does not bring out of darkness into light, whom it does not set free from the bondage of sin, whom it does not lead on towards the perfection which is seen in Christ Jesus the great Pattern of excellence, has no faith in Christianity according to the Scriptural import of the term. We insist upon character as the necessary result and only test of genuine faith. We care not for what a man says, if he *do* not as he ought; nay, we care little for what he does, if he *be* not right. The profession must be tried by the life; and even behind the life lies the character, which alone can prove in what regard we hold the Gospel. Obedience must be sincere and thorough. If we would show our gratitude, we must evince it by the diligence we use in bringing the commandments of our Master to bear upon our conduct, and in establishing the principles which he exhibited in his character in their authority over ours. Christianity is a religion for use, and not for idle praise; a religion for the heart as well as the intellect.

We insist upon character — upon a right state of the whole man. This is the one thing needful; this, and nothing besides, neither more nor less. For this was the Gospel given, for this did Jesus our Master bear humiliation and death, — that we might put on the righteousness

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which is through faith. On faith too do we insist; but on faith as the means, character as the end. Character! the very word points out the depth and magnitude of the requisition which in our view Christianity makes upon us. It is not a superficial nor a partial effect, which is seen in him who is worthy to be called after its name. The complete sanctification of the individual, the establishment of the Divine will over his whole being, in all its motives, exercises and manifestations, is the work which Christianity contemplates, and which Christianity alone can effect.

E. S. G.

ART. IX. — FREDERIKA BREMER'S THEOLOGY.*

IN reading Miss Bremer's novels every one, of course, has been impressed with the religious tone that pervades them all. Here and there in her pages hints are thrown out and speculations introduced, that have often led us to ask, what is the author's theology, and that have always puzzled us to give a reply. With considerable curiosity therefore we opened the little book that professes to state her creed, and stood ready to welcome the results of her "Morning Watches." We have closed the book and find ourselves as much in the dark as ever regarding her place among the sects, although delighted to know that she is entirely with us in her views of the aim and spirit of Christianity.

Religion is woman's peculiar province, whilst theology belongs rather to man; and Miss Bremer's attempt to be a theologian does not set aside this distinction. Charming and inspiring as is the tone of her "Confession of Faith," we are to thank her for a precious statement of religious experience rather than for oracles of theological wisdom. For this very fact, we love the book far better than if it outdid Calvin in dogmatic clearness or Swedenborg in philosophical analogy.

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* *Morning Watches: A Few Words on 'Strauss and the Gospels:' The Confession of Faith of Frederika Bremer.* Translated from the Swedish, by a Swede. Boston: Redding & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 24.

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It expresses the earnest yet mild indignation that a truly Christian woman must feel, when first acquainted with the assaults of modern infidelity upon the Divine mission of Christ. It was called out by an Essay entitled "Strauss and the Gospels," in which a statement is made of the principles put forth by the chief of German Rationalists in his *Life of Christ*. Many a woman in New England, when hearing or reading doctrines like those advanced by Strauss, has been moved by a spirit congenial with that which the novelist of Sweden has so eloquently uttered. Perhaps the honest experience of a spiritual soul is a better refutation of infidel doctrines, than any logical argument or learned apology for the truth. Sweden may thus afford us the best illustration of true defence of the faith. The sword of Gustavus withstood the Papal armies and saved Germany from returning to the Papal yoke. Now the faith of Germany is not threatened by military churchmen, but by lax rationalists, and the pen which withstands them is not unworthy of a name with the sword of the great Protestant hero.

Miss Bremer treats Strauss with great liberality, and owns with him that the Bible bears marks of the times, places, men and manners of the ages of its composition, and sometimes presents us with heavenly truth in an earthly dress. She even professes her joy in the appearance of books like that of Strauss, as leading to a better understanding of the Scriptures, to a new way between the two opposite but one-sided enemies of the Bible and revelation, that shall show the power of truth to confirm itself and call up from every 'No' a more powerful 'Yes.'

She acknowledges the difficulties that she has felt in the study of the Scriptures, and her joy — who of us that believe will not share it? — her joy when she discovered the central doctrine of reconciliation which explains and inspires the whole, like the lamp that reveals the carvings of an alabaster vase, that else are hidden, or like the Shechinah that lighted the inmost recess of the great temple. Thus she speaks: —

"Book of books! deep, wonderful mine, whose shafts ages have assaulted, ages have traversed, and will yet traverse! Holy lineage-roll, displaying the record of the internal unfolding of the race of man from the hour of its birth; gigantic drama of life's

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beginning and end! Drama, with dark episodes and bloody scenes, but whose morning and evening are in light; which commences with man's infancy, and ends where he begins a new life after death beyond the grave! History of histories! how often have I not descended into its depths with an ardent and inquiring heart. Long, long was it to me dark, mysterious, and incomprehensible, and I could not separate the precious metals from the dross and earth, which adhered to it; the *great pulse* of reconciliation, steadily beating beneath the varying weal and woe of earthly life, amid the solemn blessings and curses of the wailing mind, was concealed from me; long have I strayed and doubted, often despairing of the way and the truth. Yet the eye became by degrees used to see by twilight; and even for the least of his inquiring children does God let his light shine! Now I walk securely on the wonderful course, and to my last hour will I journey on, searching and praying."

Miss Bremer follows Strauss in his attack upon the Gospels, and meets him upon his two principal points, and vindicates Christianity as attended by miracles and given by Divine inspiration. With considerable power she shows the inefficiency of the view that looks upon Christ merely as a high ideal, and she maintains that the force of the Gospel lies not merely in its ideal of character, but in the motives it presents. Not merely aim, but power is needed, and this power is given by a supernatural revelation of God and heaven. We need not say much of this point. For the whole ground is very familiar to our readers, and has perhaps been more ably maintained by our divines than by any other persons.

In fact there is hardly a statement in the whole "Confession of Faith" which will be offensive to our circle of readers, unless it be in her view of the nature of Christ. Yet so far as she explains her doctrine of the Divinity of the Saviour, she is decidedly Unitarian. She says not a word of three persons in the Deity, and generally speaks of God *in* Christ, and thus uses language which all of us may accept, who believe in the presence of God in Christ, the supernatural union of the Father with the Son. Her enthusiastic declaration, that if Christ be not God, he is a nobler being than God, — because he suffers and dies for man, whilst God is thus made as an Oriental despot on an invisible throne, regardless of man's sins and salvation, — applies to those only who deny that God entered into the

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mission of Christ and through him manifested his love and dispensed his spirit. It does not reach those who acknowledge the doctrine, that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

In spirit and aim, Miss Bremer sides most strongly with us against the leading doctrines of modern Orthodoxy. Her view of the doctrine of the Atonement is virtually ours, and entirely opposed to the idea of literal imputation or vicarious righteousness. The righteousness of Christ is *imparted*, not *imputed* to the believer. The great power of his mission consists in his revealing God's love to us and bringing us within the sphere of its influence. How often have our writers been condemned as infidels for asserting the very doctrine thus stated in an Orthodox garb: —

"The atonement of Christ and its justification are so closely connected herewith, that I cannot pass by a nearer consideration of them. The atonement has so often given offence to people of reflection, and to those who do not think, and I myself have had so much opposition to it, that I cannot resist the desire to tell how this difficulty can be stopped, and how the doctrine has been clear and precious to me. Strauss has, as have many others, taken it in its most difficult and inaccessible form, and thereby thrust it from the way of comprehension. We would ascertain whether, by means of a sensible explanation, both cannot and must not be included therein. And if the parable we here profit by, is somewhat imperfect and broken, we may overlook it, as well for the sake of the difficulty of the subject as for the easy comprehension of the parable. It is usually said, if A do the work of B, and fulfil his duty in his place, these cannot be B's services, and B cannot thereby be regarded morally free from debt. It depends upon how the case is comprehended. For if B, through A's efforts, really becomes free from debt, then must he also be respected therefor, and the services of A be charged to him. View the case so here. B has fallen into disorder, and at last left his father's house. Far separated therefrom, he has sunk into slavery under a bad master, (we could as well call him Satan, or 'the father of lies,') and thereby come into manifold misery. The father, A, has, however, not altered himself on account of the son's change. The father's heart is the same, but the son's heart and will must be altered, if father and son shall again be reconciled and united, and the son return to his father's house. Therefore goes the father out to seek the son, and that he may come near to him, he takes upon him the form of a servant. A becomes a servant to B. He partakes of his poor means, helps him in his

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work, guards him in his misery, and suffers in his stead the cruelty of the evil master; and under all this, he constantly strengthens and cheers the son by his love, his example, his instructions, his power, and his goodness. The son B is moved by these things. The love of A awakens his. Love makes his will good, and he does what A desires. The power of A strengthens B, and he expresses himself gradually in his degraded circumstances as a new man. The old B is as if dead. Another A has risen in him. Common with A, or, more properly, through A, B works now so powerfully that he gains his freedom from the service of the cruel master. He freely departs therefrom, follows A to his father's house, and the affectionate father can again receive there his regained son, and bring him into the circle of his chosen. The justness of A has thus justified B; that is, made him just. The actions of A are satisfactory to B. The merit of A has, in fact, become B's. The father has, by his efforts and suffering, again redeemed the son, and make him free; so love fulfils the obligation, which, without it, could not be fulfilled. The example we have here used, is nothing uncommon in private life. But all private works of love show, in general, the everlasting, the fountain of all the inspiration of love on earth, and which was revealed to the world, when 'the word was made flesh and lived among us; and we beheld his glory as of the only begotten Son, full of grace and truth, and of his fulness have we all received,' when 'God in Christ atoned for the world by himself.'"

All this we are willing and happy to allow, with the exception of the idea which supposes God to have suffered for man. She says not a word of the sufferings of the second person in a Trinity, but ascribes, like Sabellius, the whole work of salvation to the Eternal Father, whom she represents as bearing the pains of his earthly children in order by such suffering love to win them away from sin. That the ever blessed God can suffer pain we cannot allow, nor are Orthodox theologians more willing to allow it than we; since they maintain that it was only the human nature of Christ that suffered. The presence of God in Christ, strengthening and soothing him, giving him power to die and live again, relieves the difficulty and leads us at once to a suffering Messiah and a parental God.

This passage of Miss Bremer regarding the Atonement will probably be looked upon by Swedenborgians as declaring their doctrine on this subject. Yet it is in substance the same which is found in the works of most

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German theologians who believe in a supernatural revelation and a spiritual religion. German Orthodoxy has very little respect for the Calvinistic dogmas of vicarious atonement and imputed righteousness. Only a few ultraists maintain it. Not a word of it can be found in the pages of the most distinguished divines of Germany. Miss Bremer may be a Swedenborgian, although she gives no sufficient proof of it in this "Confession." She cannot of course be ignorant of the writings of her illustrious countryman, who is at the head of what is sometimes called the "heaven-storming school" of theologians. Yet judging from scattered passages in her works, we should suppose, that she is a member of the Established Church of Sweden, and feels herself entirely free to modify its Lutheran Episcopacy with a leaven of Swedenborgian divinity. The "New Church" doctrines prevail to a considerable extent in her country, and Charles XIII. once favored them, although at present we are told they are not openly professed, and are strongly disapproved by the established authorities. Without scrutinizing too closely her denominational leanings, we must all admire the practical spiritualism that runs through her writings, and own that her religion is right, whatever we may think of her theology.

We leave this little work, refreshed by its perusal, and only regretting that the translator is so little master of our language, and that the version is in some passages so opaque as to create twilight, if not darkness.

S. O.

Art. X. — THE THREE BAPTISMS.

The habit of mind of the sacred writers being not so much *thought* as *vision* and *experience*, and their own character, as writers, being not so much that of philosophers as of seers, prophets, sages, it was to have been looked for that their style should abound in lively imagery. They present to us — not thoughts, disposed in philosophical order, bound together by the chains of a strict logic,

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growing out of and suggested by, or accumulated upon, each the other, forming a regular series of steps, by which the mind of the reader may be led up gradually to the summit of conviction or of sentiment to which the writer had raised himself, — but, rather, detached pictures of life and duty and destiny. Nothing is discoursed of in the abstract, but every thing is conceived and prescribed under sensible images, through symbols, pictures, figures.

An example of the highly figurative and picturesque style of the Scriptures occurs in the words used by John the Baptist: "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." To understand this language, the English reader will bear in mind that *Ghost* is the same, in meaning, as Spirit; it is, in fact, the old English word for spirit. Thus Chaucer, the father of our poetry, uses *gost* and *body* in the sense of the modern phrase, mind and body. And it is also deserving of notice, that the word in the original Greek, which is translated spirit or ghost, means, in its primitive signification, air, breath, wind. Thus, as was very natural, the same word was made to stand for the air, that invisible element, which pervades and surrounds all things, supporting animal life; and also for the immaterial element in man's nature, the principle which inhabits, informs, moves our clay; and above all, for that great, unseen, eternal Intelligence, which made and governs the Universe, which some ancient philosophers conceived of as the *soul of the world*, but which Revelation represents as a separate, almighty, all-wise Being, from whom, and in whom, and to whom are all things. The language used by John gives us the idea of three baptisms or purifications, — by water, by fire, and by air or wind. These three natural agents are employed as purifiers in the material world.

The conception may be illustrated by an imaginary Dialogue between the three Angels of the Sea, the Fire, and the Air.

THE WATER-ANGEL.

'I must about my ceaseless work. The ocean ebbs and flows at my bidding, pouring its waters round the great

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globe. This is the part assigned me by the Omnipotent Creator, by him "whose way is in the sea, and whose path is in the great waters." I "enter into the springs of the sea;" my palace is of coral, roofed with the overarching waves; "the waters compass me about, the depth closes me round about, the weeds are wrapped around my head, I sink down to the foundations of the mountains, the bars of the earth are about me." I minister to the great King as his purifier. Into my vast receptacle are poured the offal and refuse of the earth, and my waves wash them clean. The loathsome carcass, that was pushed out of sight, owns this baptism of water, and emerges a smooth and polished skeleton. See! how my "waters wear the stones," and the shells that are cast upon my shores attract admiration, and mock at all art. Out of this reservoir the clouds are supplied. My servants mount their vapor-cars, and are drawn up the celestial heights by the fire-breathing steeds of the sun. The yoked winds whirl them across the azure plains. See! how their shadow darkens the ground, as they drive along. They hide the lights of heaven from mortal eyes, as they pass. Hark! how with thunder-crash they roll over the pavement of the sky. And as they fly, they drop rich gifts upon the thirsty ground. The baptism of nature! How brightly do the rays of the returning sun glance from tree, herb and flower, and acknowledge the cleansing, renovating influence! Once this water-baptism was universal, when the deluge washed away the corruptions of a world.'

THE FIRE-ANGEL.

'Mine is a baptism more thorough and effectual than that of water. Thy streams lave the outside only and cannot reach the elements of things. Fire is a more perfect purifier. I "stand in the sun," and my beams spread in all directions, and fill the concave. Every place is searched by my influence, and my swift arrows penetrate the dark vapors, and disperse the powers of the air that gather for the destruction of mortals. In the great central orb treasures of heat are stored up, and at its rising fresh life returns to sleeping nature. The dark cloud is a magazine from which "sparks of fire leap out." The Lord maketh "his ministers a flaming fire;" "he directeth his lightning to

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the ends of the earth." The electric flash darts on its rapid errand, and the air is purified by its passage. And in deep abysses, in unexplored recesses of the earth, my ministers tend the everlasting furnace, which burns and boils to purge away the dross of nature. Among the four things that cannot be satisfied, is "the fire, that saith not, It is enough." And in some undefined period of the future, when the frame-work of the world shall have grown old, and its impurities shall be beyond the reach of the baptism of water, the great globe shall be dissolved in the flames which I am feeding, and "new heavens and a new earth shall come forth," and "there shall be no more sea."'

THE AIR-ANGEL.

'The office of water, as a purifier, reaches not beyond the outside. Whatever adheres to the surface of things is washed off by the waves. Fire is more searching in its influence. Yet in comparison with the subtile agency of air, even fire is a gross instrument. It is but a flame-wash in which the limbs of nature are dipped. My work is accomplished, but the agent is unseen. I assume no form which mortals can behold. They hear the sound of my wings, as I rush by, but cannot tell whence I come, or whither I go. My winds agitate the waves of the sea, and waft the clouds over the earth. My breath fans the flame. Where waves cannot flow, and where burning flame cannot make its way, I glide, unobstructed, unperceived. No place so secret I cannot occupy. No space so wide I cannot expand to. No substance so solid I cannot flow through. I surround, comprehend, fill all things. My baptism is universal.'

And there is an analogy, worthy of notice, in the history of the moral Dispensations of Providence. First came the Law by Moses. It was a code of express statutes. It was a catalogue of praiseworthy and blameworthy actions, with rewards and penalties annexed. It enjoined worship in a particular place, and specified what sacrifices and offerings should atone for particular offences. It appointed a priesthood, limited to the descendants of one family, deriving their right and authority to officiate, by inheritance, from a progenitor with whom the right originated.

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It required exact obedience, literal conformity. It aimed at no more, and accomplished nothing more, than a rigid external righteousness. It was a baptism of water, that could only make clean the outside and present a fair surface.

Christianity succeeded, to complete what was imperfect in the Law. It contained no list of virtues and vices. It was not a code of special enactments. It sought rather to establish principles, and form dispositions in the soul, which should prompt to all the virtues, for which human life, with its ever-varying circumstances and relations, furnishes occasion. Its worship was not local, but spiritual. Its priesthood was after the order of Melchisedec, "without father or mother, without descent;" neither deriving authority from any who went before, nor communicating authority to any that should come after; drawing its commission and receiving its unction from God, by direct inspiration, or from the promptings of a holy and benevolent mind, moving its possessor to minister to his fellow-men. Instead of the old conception of a Providence, regulating only the outward condition of mankind, and taking cognizance only of their conduct, Christianity substituted the great doctrine of the Spirit, a Holy Spirit, a Spiritual Providence, which extends to the thoughts and purposes of the mind. It called for a "righteousness of faith," that should grow out of an inward conviction, which should be based upon an assent of the mind to truth, upon a sentiment of love in the heart, upon a principle of duty enthroned in the soul. It was a baptism of fire and of spirit, penetrating the most secret parts of man's nature, seeking, not so much to make improvements in any previous system of law, as to renew the spirit of men's minds, to create them anew, after the likeness of a true and holy pattern, which had been furnished, and to make them, in this way, a law unto themselves. The Christ, in whom this new pattern of humanity is embodied, was manifested to the world, and the spirit, whose office it is to fashion men after that Divine image, was given, and is to abide with us forever.

W. P. L.

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ART. XI.—CHRISTIAN LIFE IN THE EARLY AGES.*

THE work of Neander, the title of which stands first at the foot of this page, and which was the first in the order of publication, brings down his history to the end of the third century, and we cordially thank the publisher for placing it before the American reader in so neat and economical a form. The republication, in one volume, embraces the two volumes of Mr. Rose's translation, the first published in England, in 1831,† and the second recently issued.

The character and merit of the work are too well known to need any commendation from us. Minute criticism may, no doubt, detect some faults, but a fairer and more impartial work, on the whole, we are not prepared soon to look for, on the history of the Church. The translator finds fault with some parts as not sufficiently favorable to the modern Church system of polity and doctrine. But this, in our view, is no blemish in the work. He that can find this system in the writings of primitive antiquity, must have sharper eyes than are accorded to most mortals. The truth is, the writer is honest, and does not attempt, with some, to *make* history, but only to write it.

It is not so easy, we think, to defend the author from the charge of a little occasional mistiness of thought; or perhaps mysticism would be a better word. But this is not so apparent as very materially to impair the value of the work. It can never, however, be a popular book. The periods are often long and unwieldy, never moving easily and gracefully. The author, too, is a little given to theorising; a propensity, however, more decidedly developed in his "History of the Planting and Training of the Christian

* 1. *The History of the Christian Religion and Church during the three first Centuries.* By Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the German, by HENRY JOHN ROSE, B. D., Rector of Houghton Conquest, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 466.

2. *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* By Dr AUGUSTUS NEANDER, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Consistorial Counsellor, &c. Translated from the third edition of the original German, by J. E. RYLAND. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 1844. 8vo. pp. 330.

† See Christian Examiner, Vol. VII., New Series.

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Church," a work of which we shall only say, that we consider it inferior in interest and value to that on the "History of the Christian Religion and Church." Then what he gives as quotations are often paraphrases rather. What is presented as a continuous quotation will be sometimes in vain sought in the original in the same form, but will be found to consist of sentences taken here and there from the passage referred to. On the whole we must say, that he quotes rather loosely.

Neander disclaims the name of pietist, as the term is frequently used,* but freely pleads guilty of super-naturalism, if that be any crime. His views of Christianity are eminently spiritual, and this, in our opinion, constitutes one peculiar qualification for a Church historian, for a cold rationalistic way of viewing the subject we consider as hardly compatible with a due appreciation of the spirit and piety of the early ages. The primitive Christians had faith, and that faith was warm, and instinct with life and love, and he who would draw a faithful portrait of them must have something in his own breast with which such faith has an affinity, and from which it meets a response.

The author, says Mr. Rose, "appears to be chiefly solicitous about the improvement of the heart and affections by Christianity." It is this circumstance, we think, which gives to his work on the Christian Religion and Church its peculiar value and charm. We like him, if we may use the expression, for entering so much into the life and affections of the early Christians. This relieves his work from the harshness and dryness, which mark too many Christian histories, and render them all but unreadable. We mean not that he avoids treating of doctrines, controversies, and sects; of Bardesanes, Valentinus, and the rest, — Gnostics and Manicheans, — those old giants, who attempted to grapple with the great problem of human life, and the existence of evil; but he gives us something besides them. He conducts us to many green spots, where the air is redolent with flowers, and the ear is greeted with pleasant voices.

We will try to glean from him and from other sources, from the writings of antiquity especially, a few scattered

* Preface to the Third Part.

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facts relating to Christian life and worship in the early ages.

We pass by the Apostolic age, or period embraced by the writings of the New Testament, and ending about the close of the first century, when the last surviving Apostle, John, was withdrawn from the world. We take the period immediately subsequent, the second and part of the third centuries. What were the private life and social position of Christians? What was their worship? What festivals and rites did they celebrate? How was the Communion rite observed? What is its history viewed especially as a rite of the affections, and as connecting the dead with the living?

In the present article we shall confine ourselves to the first of these questions. We shall speak of Christian life, strictly so called, in the early ages, leaving rites and worship to a future number.

Christianity infused into the great mass of believers a principle of new interior life; and this could not but manifest itself in external acts, and it gave, in truth, a new coloring to the whole of existence. Of this principle — of the inner life of the Christian, — it is not our purpose to speak. From the nature of the case, we can judge of it only by its external manifestations. The ancient Christians were fond of describing the change which occurred in the passage from heathenism to Christianity, in the figurative language of Paul, as a "rising with Christ." It was to them the introduction to a new life, the dawning of a new hope; the coming out of a region of darkness, sin, and despair, and the entrance on an existence filled with joy and illuminated by those truths which had risen on the world, never to set. It was a true resurrection. It was a change, we may add, of which they who have been born and bred within the sound of the "church going bell," who have never known how desolate the world is without faith, find it difficult to form an adequate conception.

Christianity has been long secretly feeding the channels of human thought. It has created around us a new moral atmosphere; made devout mothers, and pious teachers; it has been silently acting on the human intellect for eighteen hundred years; it has given to the world a new civilization, and stamped a character on the literature which amuses

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our childish fancy, and solaces the weary hours of decaying years. Hence we can hardly imagine the struggle of a heathen mind groping amid the darkness of contending systems for light and hope, — seeking at shrines, and oracles, and in pilgrimages to distant lands, the solution of doubts which filled the soul with inward torment; nor the joy which sprang up in the heart when Christianity had taken root there.

Some of the early Fathers have left on record the process by which they became Christian, and the inward peace which followed. Of these, Justin Martyr, the earliest Christian writer after the Apostles, of whom we have any pure and undisputed remains,* is one. Justin lived in the earlier part of the second century, and wrote two Apologies for Christianity and Christians. These, and his Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew, have come down to us little mutilated. In the last mentioned treatise he describes, in earnest language, his wanderings among different sects of philosophers, the Stoics, Pythagorians, the Peripatetics, and lastly the Platonists, in search of truth; the little satisfaction he found in them, and the happiness of which he was conscious, when through the agency of an aged man, whom he accidentally met on the sea-shore, he was led to Christianity, which he regarded, to use his own language, as "the only safe and useful philosophy."

But we are not, as we said, to speak of the interior life of believers, nor we add, of their opinions and doctrines, and we leave, therefore, the philosophical Christians, and proceed to consider the position, conduct, usages, and morality of the great body of converts.

Whatever were the moral defects of the early Christians, and however imperfect their conceptions of some parts of Christian truth — and we are not contending for any golden age in the past — there was certainly a marked, and very broadly marked, distinction, and, in many respects, a clear contrast, between their lives and the lives of their heathen contemporaries; else all records deceive us, and the gravest

* The writings attributed to the Apostolic Fathers, as they are called, that is, the disciples or companions of the Apostles, are all of them either lost or interpolated. We possess none of their genuine remains in an unadulterated state. The hierarchical party cling to them, the Epistles of Ignatius especially, but the parts on which they rely bear incontestable evidence of a later hand, and are manifest forgeries. What is called the ecclesiastical period begins with Justin.

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testimonies, delivered under circumstances which would seem to entitle them to implicit confidence, prove false. The two great principles of Christianity, holiness and love, were often carried out in their lives to an extent which may well cause surprise in the cold, skeptical mind; which the keen intellect of Gibbon tortures itself in vain to explain consistently with his infidel philosophy, and which cannot certainly be set down to mere vulgar fanaticism. Enthusiasts and mystics there might have been, and were, among them; it could not be otherwise; crude thinkers, too, many of them were; but in their lives they were generally sober and rational. Their faith was warm, glowing with its first fires; presenting a flame, "at which descending ages might light their exhausted lamps;" occasionally running into what some would pronounce unnecessary scruples; sometimes causing them to lay stress on what appear to us trifles; but still, in the main, we say, they were perfectly sober and rational.

Then it is to be considered, that their position was so different from ours, surrounded as they were, with all the fascinations of Paganism, and all the allurements of pleasure, — with the gorgeous pageantry of the old worship, and the thousand forms in which infidelity, garlanded with flowers, sought to win them back to the altars of their fathers, — that what we might deem innocent compliance, they might think dangerous concession, and where we might pronounce them over-nice, maintaining a strictness seemingly bordering on austerity, they were only true to the religion of the Cross. Truth is uncompromising, and they thought, and thought justly, that the Saviour's precepts of self-denial had a meaning. It became not them, they thought, to seek crowns of myrtle or the rose, when he wore one of thorns. "A crown of amaranth," said they, "is reserved for him who leads a holy life, a flower which earth is not capable of bearing, and heaven alone produces."

But what was the external, visible life of Christians of the second and earlier part of the third centuries? The first circumstance which arrests our attention is the highly practical character of their religion — its strict morality, and the importance it led them to ascribe to right action in all the relations of private and social life. The thoroughness of the moral reform produced by Christianity, and its

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practical character, were more conspicuous than anything else, we had almost said than the change wrought in men's devotions even. Christianity, as they understood it, entered into all forms of life and all earthly relations; in all, its power was felt; the manners were transformed; the conduct changed; and this was continually appealed to, in the face of the heathen, as a circumstance which should soften their prejudice, and lead them to look with a more favorable eye on the new religion.

Christians had not yet, from an over-refined spiritualism, or from any other cause, thought it necessary to retire from the world. "They differ," says the author of the Letter to Diognetus,* a very ancient document, found among the writings of Justin Martyr, but acknowledged not to be his, "from other men, neither in the place of their abode, nor in language, nor habits. They neither inhabit cities of their own, nor use any peculiar dialect, or any singular mode of life. Neither do they study any system wrought out by men of subtle intellect, nor follow any human dogma. They dwell in Greek and Barbarian towns, as may happen, following the customs of the inhabitants, in dress, food, and other things. * * * They share everything as citizens — they obey the laws, and excel them in their lives. * * * The soul is in the body, but not of it; so Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. As the soul preserves the body from corruption, so do Christians the world."

Of the change wrought by Christianity in the manners and lives of believers, all antiquity is full. It bears witness to the simplicity, truth, single-heartedness, love, and great moral purity and strictness of Christians of the day. "The name of Jesus," says Origen, "has a wonderful efficacy in introducing mildness, decency of manners, humanity, goodness, and gentleness among those who embrace the belief of the doctrine of God and Christ." Tatian, (A. D. 170,) says, "I desire not to reign; I wish not to be rich; I avoid military office; I abhor fornication; I care not to make voyages through the insatiate love of gain; I contend

* Neander, (p. 417) speaks of this as one of the "most beautiful remains of Christian antiquity," and pronounces the description it gives of the Christian life a "splendid portraiture." The writer was evidently a Gentile convert.

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not at the games in order to obtain a crown; I am far removed from the mad love of glory; I despise death; I am superior to every kind of disease; my soul is not consumed with grief. If I am a slave, I submit to my servitude; if I am free, I pride not myself in my noble birth. I see one sun common to all; I see one death common to all, whether they live in pleasure or in want."*

Such a life would be regarded with surprise by the heathen, and it is easy to see, would be a subject of cavil and censure.. Indeed Christians were charged, among other things, with being idle and unprofitable citizens. This charge does not appear to have reference to military service, or to the exercise of the office of magistrates, of which we shall speak hereafter, but partly to their freedom from avarice and ambition, which led them to be moderate in the pursuit of earthly good, and partly to the circumstance that they brought no offering to the temples, and did nothing for the support of the games, or to encourage the various arts connected with an idolatrous worship. The mode in which the charge was replied to, throws some light on the manners of Christians of that time.

"How," asks Tertullian, "can this charge lie against those, who live among you, use the same food and clothing, and are subject to the same necessities? For we are no Brahmins, no Indian Gymnosophists, no dwellers in woods, exiles from common life. We remember the gratitude we owe to God, and enjoy his gifts with moderation and without abuse. We do not retire from the forum, the markets, the baths, the shops, the places of public resort, but use them in common with you, and maintain intercourse with you in other things. We engage in common with you in navigation, in military service,† in agriculture, and trade, and you profit by our arts. What if I do not attend your ceremonies? I do not that day cease to be a man. I do not purchase garlands for my head, you say. What is it to you how I use the flowers I purchase? I think them more beautiful when left free and not gathered into a crown. — But we do not purchase incense for your altars.

* Cont. Græc. — subjoined, with the Remains of Athenagoras and Theophilus of Antioch, to the works of Justin Martyr. — Ed. Colog. 1686. p. 150.

† "Vobiscum militamus."

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—If the Sabeans complain, let them know that we consider their spices of more value in the burial of the dead, than when used as offerings to the gods. Do you say, that the revenue of your temples falls off? We bring you a better revenue by leading honest lives, and paying what we owe."*

With the early Christians, religion was never a thing apart from the life. They served God by holy thoughts and just actions, by abstaining from evil and doing good. Theirs was not a religion of mere sensibility, of exaltation of feeling, or what are sometimes called spiritual exercises. There was in it little of what in modern times would be called excitement, though a great deal of earnestness, and entire truthfulness and sincerity. It was not the foaming torrent; it was a stream gently flowing on, through sun and shade, fertilizing and making green its banks.

All the Apologists appeal with confidence to the moral character and innocent lives of Christians, which shone out with so much beauty amid the deformity and vices of Paganism. And there is no reason, in the main, to distrust their representations. Had they spoken falsely, their falsehood would have been immediately detected by the hostile world in which they lived. The daily life of Christians was open to all, for, as we have seen, they mixed freely with their fellow-citizens. "We are of yesterday," says Tertullian, "yet we fill all parts of your empire, your cities, your islands, your fortresses, your very camps, your towns, the palace, the senate, the forum. We leave you only your temples." † This being so, the Apologists must have been bold men when they challenged inquiry, — and said, "Search your prisons; though you will find multitudes confined there, you will not meet one there who is a Christian, unless he be there because he is a Christian, and not because he has committed any crime," — if they could not make good their assertion.

The strictness with which Christ's moral precepts were interpreted, appears from such passages as the following, and we could quote multitudes to the same effect. "Among us," says Athenagoras, "you may find illiterate persons, and artisans, and old women, who, if they cannot show the

* Apol. c. 42. † Apol. c. 37.

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benefits resulting from their profession by words, show it by practice. For they do not commit words to memory, but show forth good deeds; when struck, they strike not again; when robbed, they have not recourse to the law; they give to those who ask, and love their neighbors as themselves."*

Dismissing now these general views, let us take a single principle — the principle of love — by our Saviour made the one test of discipleship. Let us consider this principle as it manifested itself among the ancient Christians. Their singular love for each other attracted universal notice. The heathen could not but remark upon it with surprise. "See, say they, how these Christians love each other," is an expression of Tertullian. There was a warmth and heartiness of sympathy among them, which showed how deeply the principle of Christian love had struck root in their hearts. This love was strengthened, as was natural, by the common dangers and sufferings to which they were exposed as a persecuted sect.

All their intercourse was affectionate. The brotherly and sisterly kiss, the kiss of peace at Communion, and on the reception of a new member into the church, and the kiss of salutation on the first meeting of Christians with each other, were given in token of sympathy. This custom, originally innocent and growing out of the purest feeling, the feeling of common relationship, and confined to those of the same sex, it is true was afterwards abused, or degenerated into a mere form. As early as the time of Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 200, it began in that rich and luxurious city to be made matter of ostentation. Many, he says, disturbed the church by the brotherly kiss, without having the spirit of love in their hearts, and open and frequent salutations in the streets offended the eyes of the unbelieving Alexandrians; and the custom, as were other customs from time to time, was gradually laid aside.

On casting our eyes back on those ages, however, we find other tokens less equivocal, of the love which Christians bore to each other, and to their fellow-beings. The precepts of the Saviour, commanding his disciples to pray for their persecutors, to return blessing for cursing, and

* Legat. p. 12. Just. M. Opp. — Ed. Colog. 1686.

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love for hate, would seem to have been fulfilled by them to the letter. We express no more than the strict truth, we believe, when we say that their sufferings did not chill their kind affections, did not turn their love to hate; and their patience under them, while it was viewed with astonishment by spectators, won over many hearts to the religion of the humble Galilean. It did more than miracles, more than argument, more than eloquence. "The only effect of your exquisite cruelty," says Tertullian, at the close of his Apology, "is to allure others to the sect. We grow in number, the more you persecute us. The blood of Christians is the seed. That obstinacy with which you reproach us is an instructress. Who on seeing it is not moved to inquire the cause? Who that inquires, does not join us?"

Of their active philanthropy we have the most abundant proof. Though all things were not literally in common, all was so far common, as any had need.* The distinction of rich and poor existed, the rights of property were respected, and each one had his own. But no one was allowed to suffer from want of what another possessed. There is no subject perhaps more frequently alluded to by writers of those times than the ready sympathy manifested by Christians for the destitute, the stranger, the sick and infirm, the prisoner, the widow, and the orphan. On this subject Neander quotes the words of Tertullian, who "lays it down as one of the joys attendant on a marriage between Christians, that the wife may visit the sick and support the needy, and not need be under anxiety about her almsgiving." The absent were remembered, and especially those who had fallen into any calamity. The wealthy churches of the cities sent contributions to the poorer country, or provincial, churches, and large sums were raised, in one instance more than 4000 dollars at Carthage, to redeem those who had

* This, we are confident, is the usual force of the expression, "having all things in common," where it occurs, which is not very often, in the writings of the Fathers. Only very rarely is it used in a stricter sense. We meet with an apparent instance in the Epistle to Diognetus, a very early writing, as we have said. He speaks of Christians as spreading a "common table." It is possible that he is to be understood with the restriction mentioned above. If he is to be understood literally, and refers to the partaking of common food, as we should say "living in common," the practice did not long continue, and was never general even in the days of the Apostles. — The poor, the sick, prisoners, widows, and orphans, referred to, were Christians.

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been taken captive by Barbarians. Cyprian sends it with an affectionate letter, and requests that information be given if a similar calamity should fall on others, for they should always, he said, receive help. Even martyrdom found its consolations in Christian love. Those who were imprisoned on account of their religion, and some of whom were waiting their death, had the satisfaction of knowing that they were remembered in the prayers of Christians; each morning presented the spectacle of aged women, widows, and orphans, who had come to testify their sympathy; distant communities of believers sent messengers to aid and comfort them; devout lips kissed their chains; all their wants were provided for, and nothing was omitted which could demonstrate the lively interest their brethren took in their fate, or could mitigate its severity.

But we should do injustice to the ancient Christians, if we supposed that their charity was always confined to believers. Some beautiful pictures of their disinterestedness and self-devotion, contrasting strongly with the cold selfishness of the age, have been transmitted to us. In some fragments of Letters of Dionysius of Alexandria, preserved by Eusebius,* we have an account of the conduct of Christians during the prevalence of a terrible pestilence in Egypt. Though they had been driven away by severe persecution, they returned in the midst of the pestilence to render offices of compassion to the dying, and perform decent rites for the dead. With the heathen, as Neander remarks, "matters stood quite differently; at the first symptom of sickness they drove a man from their society, they tore themselves away from their dearest connexions; they threw the half dead into the streets, and left the dead unburied; endeavoring by all the means in their power to escape contagion." † A similar result was witnessed during a time of great mortal sickness at Carthage. While "the heathen, out of cowardice, left the sick and the dying, and the streets were full of the dead, which no man dared to bury, Cyprian assembled his people around him, and urged them strongly to deeds of mercy. The effect was instantaneous. "Encouraged by his paternal admonition," says his old biographer, Pontius, one of his deacons, "the members of the church addressed themselves to the work,

* B. vii. c. 22. † Neander. p. 158.

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the rich contributing money, and the poor their labor, so that in a short time the streets were cleared of the dead which filled them, and the city saved from the dangers of a universal pestilence."

We pass now by a somewhat abrupt transition to the views and conduct of Christians in regard to amusements, — theatrical entertainments and games, pomps, festivals, and shows. What sort of amusements are permitted to what are called religious people, is a question about which there is as much dispute now as there ever has been. It is a question which has been always agitated, and never settled. Persons differ in their views of relaxation and innocent indulgence, according to their temperament, education, and social position, and the character and spirit of the times. What is considered as perfectly allowable in one age or country, is condemned in another. How remarkably is this true of Protestant and Catholic countries. Some lean to the side of asceticism, and regard every throb of pleasure, and every cheerful emotion almost, as criminal. Others incline to the side of freedom and liberality. Piety is with them a joyous feeling, and as they look out upon the bright sun and green earth, their spirits rejoice, and they would deem themselves, in Milton's phrase, as guilty of "sullenness against nature," and nature's God, not to rejoice. And why, they ask, should joy be banished from social life? Or why should amusements be proscribed? Why set the seal of reprobation upon them? Why ask, or expect us always to bear about with us a serious look, to visit only serious people, or read only serious books? Some would banish all light reading, and others read little else. Some would be always thoughtful, and they never unbend without doing penance for it afterwards, and asking God's forgiveness. Others take Pope's lines for their motto,

> "For God is paid when man receives;
> T' enjoy is to obey."

Now where is the medium? Where shall we draw the delicate line on one side of which lies innocent recreation, and on the other, forbidden pleasure? These are questions, many will think, more easily asked, than answered. It is not our present business to reply to them, but to speak of the conduct of the ancient Christians in regard to amusements — such amusements as existed in their day.

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In regard to the pleasures of the world, no doubt, the early Christians were very strict. Nor is this strictness in its original character, at least, to be attributed to that false spiritualism which crept in with the Oriental philosophy, — a philosophy which taught contempt of the body, and favored abstract, solitary contemplation, as furnishing the wings on which the soul mounted to God, and by which it might almost anticipate the beatific vision accorded to the saints in the heavenly Paradise. This led to all the follies of monkery. But the strictness of the early Christians was a moral strictness, springing from a principle altogether different.

Several circumstances, however, combined to spread over the lives of the ancient Christians an unusual seriousness. From pressing too literally some expressions used by the Apostles, they were led into the belief that the world was soon to pass away, and the general judgment to take place. We do not now refer to the gross ideas of the millennium, which prevailed for a time in the Church, which Papias, a man, according to Eusebius, of small intellect, has the credit of propagating, and to which numbers, influenced by the "antiquity of the man," listened. Of those who rejected these grosser doctrines, there were multitudes who still held the opinion that the time was not far distant, when Christ would reveal himself, and the present order of things come to an end. With such a belief, how could Christians give themselves up to the light-hearted and careless enjoyments of their heathen neighbors?

Further, most of the amusements of the age were in some way connected with idolatrous ideas and ceremonies. Christians, too, were a persecuted people, and while numbers of them were languishing in prison, or enduring the pains of martyrdom, there would be little time to think of the vanities of the world, or they would be remembered only to be despised.

These circumstances are to be taken into account along with the great conscientiousness of Christians already noticed, and they will often help to explain the grounds of their decisions and conduct.

Minucius Felix, a Roman lawyer, a convert to Christianity, who lived at the beginning of the third century, in his Dialogue in defence of his newly adopted religion, called

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Octavius, puts into the mouth of Cecilius, who sustains the heathen part of the dialogue, the following somewhat graphic description of the manners and life of Christians as they appeared to a heathen. "Fearful and anxious, you abstain from pleasures in which there is nothing indecorous; you visit no shows; you attend no pageants; you are seen at no public banquets; the sacred games, and food and drink used in the sacrifices, you abhor; you thus fear the Gods whom you deny; you bind not your brows with garlands; you use no perfumes for the body; your aromatics you reserve for burials; you refuse even crowns of flowers to the sepulchres; pallid, trembling, you are fit objects of commiseration to our Gods." In another place he calls them a "people who fled the light, who hid themselves in darkness; mute in public, garrulous in corners." This, it will be recollected, is a heathen picture. What was the Christian view?

Take the pleasures of the theatre, including the circus, "pantominic shows, tragedies, comedies, and the chariot and foot races," all scenic exhibitions. Of these entertainments the Romans were extravagantly fond, and it cost the Christians no light struggle, wholly and at once to tear themselves away from them. On this, however, the Christian teachers strongly insisted, and with so much success, that to say that a person abstained from the amusements of the theatre was with the heathen equivalent to saying that he had become a Christian.

There were several reasons alleged why Christians should not be present at these amusements. Much occurred in them which "violated the moral feelings and the decencies of Christians." Besides that an unholy spirit breathed in them, — the frivolities which reigned there, the "hour-long pursuit of idle and vain objects," and the tumult and uproar which often prevailed, were viewed as incompatible with the seriousness of the Christian character. Then, it is well known, they were, many of them, connected with heathen ideas, or worship, which rendered it dangerous for a Christian to be present at them, if not in itself an act of disloyalty to his Master. In weaker Christians, who were induced by the prevailing manners, and the solicitations of their heathen neighbors, to attend them, the love of them, it was observed, revived, and they were lead back to heathenism. With

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such examples before them, and in view of all the immorality and vices exhibited at the public spectacles and entertainments, it was in vain argued that "the outward pleasures of the eye and ear need not banish religion from the heart." Sad experience, it would be contended, taught a different lesson.

Players were not admitted members of churches, and the case is mentioned of one who, having renounced the stage himself, wished to obtain a living by instructing boys in the art of acting. The question was referred to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, whether this could be permitted. 'No,' says he, at once. 'If such an one pretend poverty, let him be relieved, yet not in such a way that he shall consider himself as bought off from a sinful occupation. If the church where he is be too poor to help him, let him come to Carthage, and be sure that he shall be provided for, and be put in the way of getting an honest living.'

So reasoned, and so acted the ancient Christians. The struggle was a difficult one, but the Church was unyielding. The theatres were regarded as the devil's ground, and there were seen the pomp and idolatry of the world. They were the devil's ground, for he and the demons under him were, according to the Christian Fathers, the authors of the whole system of heathen mythology, which was there recognized; the inspirers of all the beautiful forms of Pagan worship and poetry, by which souls were deluded and lost. They spoke in the oracles; they wove the fables which Ovid and others sang; they feigned love, hate, sighs, and tears, in the easy dialogue of Terence; they taught the muse of Homer; they guided the chisel of Praxiteles. But the theatres were their chosen seat, because there, while the ear drank in fiction, the eye wandered over exquisite specimens of art, many of them representing idolatrous forms and images; and sculpture, poetry and painting, all combined to delude the imagination and cheat the senses.*

For another and different reason the games of the amphitheatre, and all gladiatorial shows, and combats with wild beasts, were shunned. It was, that they were attended

* A woman attended the theatre, (one of the Fathers tells the story,) and returned home, possessed with a demon. The demon being questioned, replied, "I had a right to her, for I found her on my own ground."

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with cruelty. The Romans, with all their philosophy and all their boasted civilization, took delight in cruel sports, and there is no fact in all Christian antiquity which tells more for the honor of Christians, or furnishes a more beautiful illustration of the spirit of Christian love which had taken possession of their hearts, than the horror of these sports which they from the first manifested. They could not look upon them; they could not be present at them. The same, we may add, was true of public executions. The propriety of them does not appear to have been questioned by the ancient Christians, but they could not witness them. Athenagoras, repelling the charge of unnatural crimes imputed to the Christians, asks, how one can accuse of such crimes those who "cannot bear to be present even at the execution of a person justly condemned. While others rush with eagerness to behold the combats of gladiators, and the conflicts with wild beasts, we renounce such sights; thinking there is little difference between witnessing and committing homicide." Cyprian says, "if you cast your eyes upon the towns, you meet with an assembly more frightful than solitude. A combat of gladiators is in preparation in order to gratify the thirst of cruel eyes with blood. A man is put to death for the pleasure of men, murder becomes a profession, and crime not only practised, but even taught."

To talk in this strain, and act consistently, may seem very easy now. But we must recollect that the early Christians lived in a very different moral atmosphere. What they condemned, public sentiment and fashion sanctioned. The most refined and moral of the land, the beautiful, the gentle, the accomplished, ay, delicate woman, was there, — taking pleasure in that which the roughest artisan, illiterate, coarse-clad, could not from beneath his weather-beaten brow gaze upon without shuddering, because he had received Christianity into his heart.

We hardly need say after what has preceded, that all excessive ornament was condemned. The minuteness to which some of the good old Fathers of the church, Clement in particular, descend in commenting on the love of dress, and the various articles of a lady's toilet, and, we may add, a gentleman's too, is indeed sometimes amusing, though it affords a good illustration of the manners of the age. Our

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Puritan ancestors could not have had a greater horror of female ornament, than these old Fathers. One cannot but smile at Clement's comparison: "They who adorn only the outward, but neglect the inward man, are like the Egyptian temples, presenting every species of external decoration, but containing within, not a deity, but a cat, or crocodile, or some vile animal." But though ornament was condemned, it was still worn, much we suppose then as now. For whom were jewels and bright things made, asked the ladies, if not for us? And their husbands, we suppose, sometimes yielded, though the religious guide frowned, as religious guides sometimes will. The "rich damsels of Carthage," who were dedicated to God even, went into such extravagance that Father Cyprian felt compelled to address them a letter on the subject. Clement mentions the extravagance of the ladies of Alexandria in giving ten thousand talents for a single garment, while the price of a female, if she sold herself into bondage, was only a thousand drachms.*

The wearing of chaplets, and garlands of flowers, was prohibited not only as superfluous ornaments to a fair brow, but partly because the flowers of which they were composed were, for the most part, consecrated to heathen deities, as the rose to the Muses, the lily to Juno, and the myrtle to Diana; and partly because they were worn by the heathen at banquets and festivals, and what was done by heathens it was not fit, they thought, that Christians should imitate. The use of them too, might probably be forbidden from prudential reasons, to prevent Christians from attending those banquets, since custom required that, if they were present, they should appear crowned. So the illumination of their houses with torches, or ornamenting them with laurel, on the festival days of the heathen, was not allowed.

In some matters of this sort they may appear to us to have been over scrupulous — they possibly were — but

* The *Pædagogue* of Clement of Alexandria is the great source of information in regard to the manners and habits of the Alexandrians and Alexandrian Christians of his day. In the Christian Examiner, Vol. V. 3d series, p. 137, some account will be found of this work, in connexion with Christian life in Egypt, of which we cannot now speak. The instance of extravagance above referred to is given by Bishop Kaye, in his work on Clement.

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such facts go to show their extreme conscientiousness, and the extent to which they brought religion to bear on their daily acts and indulgences. Had they neglected inward purity, and what belongs to the soul, the charge of Pharisaism might fasten upon them. But of this they cannot be accused, and we can readily pardon them, if their horror of heathenism, the deformity and sins of which were before their eyes, led them sometimes to renounce things innocent, because such things, by their close contact with what they so much abhorred, seemed to them to have contracted pollution. So it was with the Puritans, who could endure none of the vestments, or as they called them, the rags, of Popery.

It may be well supposed, that a just abhorrence of idolatry and dread of the contaminations of heathenism would cut off Christians from the use of many arts and occupations, on which they had been heretofore accustomed to rely for sustenance, and that much poverty and distress would be the consequence. And so it was; but the sacrifice appears to have been, in most cases, cheerfully met. Certainly the Christian teachers were uncompromising on the subject. None were admitted to baptism till they had pledged themselves to renounce all trades and professions which had any connexion, however remote, with heathen rites, ideas, or worship, or which could be considered as in any way countenancing them. Thus, — to specify a few particulars, — to make pictures of false Gods, or images, or statues, or to deal in them, was to be engaged, they thought, in the service of idolatry. Professors of rhetoric were looked upon with suspicion, because they drew illustrations and ornaments of discourse from the stores of heathen mythology. Tertullian will not allow merchants to furnish commodities for adorning the temples, nor sell spices for incense, nor Christians to feast on days set apart by the heathen in honor of their Gods. But he, Montanist as he was, grants them some indulgence, for he allows them to attend the bridal rites of a relative, though sacrifices were offered there, and servants to attend their masters to sacrifices.

We come now to the performance of civil and military duties. The Christian teachers strictly enjoined obedience to the civil magistrate, with the exception, however, of things condemned by the law of God, — an exception which gave

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little satisfaction to their Pagan rulers. No disposition was manifested to bid "wild defiance" to existing institutions. "Christianity gave its sanction," says Neander, "to all existing human institutions as far as there was nothing in them which contravened the law of God; it left its genuine professors to walk in the laws and institutions which they found existing, even where they were oppressive to them, with resignation and self-denial." Certain it is, the early Christians were anxious to defraud the civil magistrate of nothing which was his due, unless we construe the omission of some honorary ceremonies regarded as idolatrous as robbery. They freely paid taxes and customs. The coin to Cæsar, and yourself to God, was their constant maxim. The coin bears the image of Cæsar; your souls, of God.

In regard to the acceptance of civil office, there was undoubtedly a difference of opinion among the ancient Christians. Some, it would seem, refused it, and the humble, unambitious character of Christians repressed all desire of exercising the magistracy, while their views of the destination of the soul, and the ennobling power of Christian goodness, taught them to hold cheap all human honors. They who shunned office, not from mere feeling or preference, but as matter of religious obligation, did it not because they had any scruple, generally speaking, of the lawfulness of exercising the magistracy in itself considered, but because it required the performance of some heathen ceremonies, or was in some way connected with idolatrous rites, or demanded a recognition of Pagan customs. Besides, how could they accept office, to any extent, under a government which often made it their duty to denounce their fellow Christians? There were many Pagan edicts which no Christian could execute. The conduct of Christians is readily explained by reference to the position they occupied, and we see not well how it could have been different. It is a great error, often committed in appeals to the example of the early Christians, that their social position and the character of the institutions under which they lived, all founded on heathen ideas, are not taken into account. And yet, as we have said, they committed no violent assault on those institutions. "The affairs of the world," says Clement, "may be administered by a Christian, with God's will, after an unworldly manner, and thus those who

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are in trade, publicans and the like, may show a spirit of (Christian) philosophy."

But how was it with regard to military service? It is contended, on one hand, that it was regarded by the ancient Christians as unlawful to bear arms. This assertion is not true without very essential qualification. It is true that the ancient Christians were averse to war — averse to the sight of blood even. The principle of love, of humanity, was strong in them, and many of them did, without doubt, refuse to bear arms, and considered it as unchristian to do so; but not universally. Tertullian, who after he became a Montanist, entertained opinions more rigid than were those of most of his fellow Christians, in his treatise on Idolatry, condemns the bearing of arms. But in two passages, already quoted from him, he expressly recognizes Christians as soldiers: he says they were found in the "camps;" and again, "we perform military service in common with you."

We are not arguing the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of war. We yield, we trust, to none in our detestation of the war-spirit. But we value truth, and in describing the manners and lives of the ancient Christians, we must represent them as they are, and not as we might wish to find them. Undoubtedly passages are found in the Fathers condemning the use of arms. But then we are met by other passages, like those already quoted, and we could adduce others, which prove that Christians did not wholly decline military service, nor was it universally regarded by them as unlawful — nay, that it was quite common with them to be engaged in it. The story of the Thundering Legion, if there be any truth in it, shows that Christian soldiers were somewhat numerous at a very early period, and if there had not been Christian soldiers in the armies, it would hardly have been fabricated. The storm and the victory are well authenticated, and happened A. D. 174.

But there is one consideration further to be added. They who engaged in military service might be employed in executing edicts against their fellow Christians, and the exercise of military command, like the exercise of civil authority, frequently, if not always, involved the necessity of using or recognizing Pagan ceremonies; and the devices on military standards, and many other objects and usages of

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heathen origin would naturally alarm the sensitive consciences of Christians; and military service would thus be avoided, when it well could be, not for its cruelty merely, or because regarded as unlawful in itself, but from the horror of partaking in the sin of idolatry. Thus Tertullian considers the bearing of arms as countenancing idolatry.

It is exceedingly dangerous to quote the Fathers in detached passages, and without reference to the opinions and usages of the age, and the various, and as it may sometimes seem to the modern reader, very singular aspects under which they viewed objects. To how many does it now occur, when the testimony of the Fathers and the example of the early Christians are appealed to as condemning the acceptance of civil and military offices, that one of the motives which operated powerfully with them was the dread of idolatry? Yet so it was.

The truth is, there were two parties in the ancient Church, one more, the other less rigid; — one condemning the use of arms as irreconcilable with the spirit of Christian love, or as connected with idolatrous practices, or as incompatible with the humility which became those who, in imitation of the Saviour, had renounced the pomp and vanities and pleasures of the world; while the other, appealing to examples not of the Old Testament merely, but the New, to the case of the Centurion, especially, whom Christ commended, took different ground, affirming that though a person should not by a participation in heathen ceremonies deny his allegiance to the Saviour, yet without this the profession of arms was not necessarily criminal. In bringing men over to Christianity, it was found, after all, much more difficult to contend with the love of pleasure, than with the war-spirit, and the theatre was regarded with far more jealousy than the camp.

Our sketch would be imperfect without some notice of marriage and domestic life. On looking back on the ancient Christian world, it is easy to see that Christianity operated in various ways to refine and exalt the character of domestic relations. By giving new prominence to the doctrine of individual responsibility, by teaching the immortality of the soul, by awakening, as they had never been awakened before, the kind affections, and by inculcating universal purity of thought and manners, it exerted an influ-

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ence, the effects of which were soon visible. The language in which woman was spoken of, and the feeling towards her, changed, and she became more worthy of love. She was no longer treated as the plaything of man, or the minister to his pleasures. In common with every human being she was regarded as a holy thing, a child of God, and entitled to reverence. A new and more ennobling feeling insensibly grew up towards her. "Woman," says Clement of Alexandria, "is as capable of arriving at perfection as man;" and her character, wrought upon by Christian influences, speedily developed new germs of strength and beauty. The writings of the Fathers, dry and crabbed as they are in most respects, certainly breathe throughout respect for woman; and when woman is respected, and marriage is connected with all the holy associations which the Gospel throws around it, the influence must soon be felt in all the relations of domestic and social life. "It was Christianity which first presented marriage to the world in the light of a union of deep religious and spiritual import, the communion which belongs to a higher state of life, a union which reaches beyond this transitory world, and unites in one common life the mutual and consecrated powers of two beings to the glory of God."* So the religion of the ancient Christians led them to view marriage, and the Christian writings of the age treat largely of the domestic duties — the duties of Christian men, and Christian women at home, and in the intercourse of social life.†

Marriage was made a religious rite, and the communion of the Supper, the token of Christian affection, and pledge of obedience to one common Master, which accompanied the bridal ceremony, gave peculiar solemnity to the transaction. A joint oblation was made to the church by the bride and bridegroom, and a blessing was implored upon

* Neander. p. 175.

† The world owes a debt to Christian mothers, which it can never repay. It has been often remarked, that great and good men have been generally indebted to the influence of mothers in awakening the powers of the moral, if not of the intellectual, life. It was in reference to this influence that the elder President Adams, we think it was, once used the expression, "God bless our mothers." We are forcibly reminded of this expression by the exclamation of the heathen, "What women the Christians have!" — a noble testimony to the refining and elevating power of Christianity, and the most beautiful tribute, perhaps, to the merit of woman, which all antiquity, heathen or Christian, furnishes.

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them in prayer. If any of our fair readers ask us in what the ceremony consisted in other respects, we confess our inability, at present, to give them any satisfactory information, except that the kiss and joining of hands formed parts of it, and the deaconesses were expected to be present as well as the pastor, and the only ring mentioned is the espousal ring, or ring of betrothment, which had been previously put on the lady's finger.

Christians of the second and third centuries were strongly opposed to second marriages, and celibacy, though not enjoined, was honored. But the ascetic spirit came in, and the more just views of Christianity, as designed to enter into all the social relations and purify and exalt them all, gradually yielded to a fanatical preference for a retired and contemplative life, which terminated in the extravagances of monkery.

But we must for the present bring our remarks to a close. It is difficult for us to place ourselves in the position of the ancient Christians, encompassed as they were, by social influences so different, as we have said, from those in the midst of which we live, and exposed to errors in philosophy and science, which time and the research of many centuries have served slowly to correct, and we are therefore in danger of doing them injustice in our thoughts. They should be honored for what they did, not be sternly judged for their faults.

Of the power of Christianity in bringing about a great moral and social reform, entering into all the intimacies of domestic life and all human relations, they certainly afford abundant proof. That the early believers had blemishes we admit, great blemishes and faults, it may be; but these, many of them at least, were the natural result of their position, and they are not of a nature to make us forget the many beautiful forms of Christian devotion and love, which fall under the eye, as it wanders back to those buried ages;—and we are hardly in danger of over-rating their conscientiousness, their quiet and retiring virtues, their peaceful manners, their patience under reproach and suffering, their scrupulous morality, and their care to serve God by their daily acts, and the moral beauty of their lives, as the most acceptable offering they could lay before his throne.

A. L.

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NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Education of Mothers; or the Civilization of Mankind by Women. By L. Aime-Martin. Being the work to which the Prize of the French Academy was awarded. Translated from the French by Edwin Lee, Esq. First American, from the London edition. Philadelphia. 1843. 12mo. pp. 308.

We are glad to see an American reprint of a work which has been so popular abroad, and think it a good omen for France that such a work has been popular there. We discover so much more good sense and true religion in the views held by Aimé-Martin on the great subject of female education, than we have been accustomed to find pervading French society, that we may well indulge a philanthropic joy over his pages. But whether the same treatise will be carefully read and profitably remembered in this country, seems to us very doubtful. Still the whole subject of education is here a matter of general and familiar interest; and any thing which promises novelty or information is sure of attention. Here woman, in particular, feels how much she has at stake, and realizes the power of her position in regard to education. Therefore the book will probably be read with curiosity, and perhaps effect; and we wish, in view of the good it might accomplish, that it were more condensed, clear, practical, and free from French extravagance.

The religion of the writer seems to us spiritual and rational; a combination with which we should think none could find fault. His style indicates an earnest spirit, and he gives strong proofs of an observing mind. His philosophy appears to us somewhat speculative; some of his statements in psychology requiring more than bare assertion to satisfy us. And yet, feeling, as we do, the deepest anxiety that the mothers of America should be penetrated with the desire of giving better men to the next generation, (and of course wiser in the true sense,) we heartily urge them to reserve for this work some hours of study. It holds up to them the true standard, it enforces the absolute necessity of bringing out the religious and moral natures of the young, if there be any solicitude for the temporal or spiritual welfare of the beloved child, any due sense of maternal accountableness.

There is one of the simplest remarks of this author, which should be the foundation of a very different system of female education from that prevailing about us. "The education of

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women is so superficial, they are so little accustomed to serious thought." Serious thought! serious thought! When shall our young girls learn to think, or have time to think, — hurried as they now are from task to task, hearing, seeing, rehearsing, practising, reciting, learning what others have thought and do think, but never thinking themselves; never exercising the glorious power of meditation, inward reasoning, silent speculation upon the thousand questions, which have as much import to them as to man. Can the reasoning powers grow without exercise, any more than the muscle and sinew? And, — we would put the question with a painful seriousness, — is the course now pursued by the multitude of American mothers in "bringing up" their children (to use the common phrase) likely to "bring out" the souls of these children, even to make them feel that they have souls, any thing but intellect, or physical endowment?

The original of this work was favorably noticed in the Christian Examiner for March, 1840. But the first American edition seems to us to call for a new welcome. H.

History of all Christian Sects and Denominations; their Origin, Peculiar Tenets, and Present Condition. With an Introductory Account of Atheists, Deists, Jews, Mahometans, Pagans, &c. By JOHN EVANS, LL. D. From the fifteenth London Edition. Revised and Enlarged, with the addition of the most recent Statistics relating to Religious Sects in the United States. By the AMERICAN EDITOR. New York. 1844. 12mo., pp. 288.

THIS is a fresh reprint of a work which has been for many years before the public, and had an extensive sale. The author, in his preface to the fifteenth London edition, speaks of its "unrivalled circulation," he having witnessed the "issuing of one hundred thousand copies of his little book from the press." Several additions, it seems, have been made by the American editor, and some "improvements" introduced; but as they are not distinguished by any mark, and we have not the London edition before us, we have, at present, no means of ascertaining what they are. We confess that this mode of republication does not satisfy us. The additions may be of value, as we have no doubt they are in the present case, and the alleged "improvements" may be real; but we like, in general, to know what the author wrote, and what has been changed or added. It is doing injustice to the author, too, to mix up what he wrote with matter supplied by another hand, without any note of distinction, and as to alterations, it is still worse. He may, or may not, think them improvements.

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The book, however, taken as a whole, is written in an upright and charitable spirit, and affords in the main, we should think, a faithful sketch of the sentiments of the several denominations of which it treats. This is accompanied with valuable historical notices. The articles are necessarily brief. That on Unitarianism occupies nine pages. Twelve pages are given to the "Tractarians or Puseyites," four to the "Come-Outers," and as many to the Millerites. We remark as rather a singular omission, that the Congregationalists, though twice mentioned, have no separate article assigned them. The "Humanitarians" appear as a sect, but no statistics are given. Only one individual is named, and that is Rev. Theodore Parker, of Roxbury, who is called "one of the ablest of modern Humanitarians," and extracts to the amount of five pages are given from one of his discourses as explanatory of his views.

The book has some defects, but contains a good deal of useful information in a very readable form, and its circulation, we believe, may do good by making the different classes of Christians better acquainted with each other's sentiments.

The story about Charles V. in his "monastery" with his "clocks and watches," we see, is permitted to stand. We observe, too, that Rev. Dr. Mayhew of Boston is enumerated among those who "publicly preached" the doctrine of Universalism before the arrival of Rev. John Murray, in 1770. We suppose that this is a blunder. L.

Letter to a Lady in France on the Supposed Failure of a National Bank, the Supposed Delinquency of the National Government, the Debts of the several States, and Repudiation; with Answers to Inquiries concerning the Books of Capt. Marryatt and Mr. Dickens. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1843. 8vo. pp. 56.

Here is a pamphlet written with great good sense and good temper, and in a plain and easy style, on some of the most interesting topics which can now engage the attention of Americans. It is well known that the credit of the nation has greatly suffered abroad, and we are pronounced, by many, a nation of bankrupts and swindlers. A citizen of the United States travelling in Europe, or visiting it for purposes of business, is exposed to hear his country, in the character of which he has hitherto taken a just pride, and which still stands first in his affections, constantly charged with bad faith, and other faults or crimes; and to some of the accusations brought against it he finds it difficult, perhaps, to give any very satisfactory reply, or

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at least, any reply which foreigners, imperfectly acquainted as they are with the nature of our institutions, shall deem sufficient. The worst is, that the failure of some of the States to meet their obligations in Europe is charged as a fault upon Republican institutions, and the sacred cause of freedom is suffering from our delinquencies. An intelligent American, now in England, speaking of repudiation, says, in a letter we have just received: "this is a subject which comes quite home to the feelings of Americans residing in Great Britain; but a person must be *present* here to *realize* how our country has fallen in the estimation of Europe since the stoppage of interest on the part of some of the States. * * * * * * The best friends of freedom and reform whom England contains, assure me that they can do nothing, while America continues in her present unenviable position. Our non-payment is attributed to the nature of our Republican institutions; and despots, who ten years ago trembled upon the mention of the free, prosperous, and happy United States, now repose in undisturbed rest, and rivet the chains about the liberties of their subjects closer than ever." Similar accounts, of the odium we have incurred, cross the Atlantic every month.

The pamphlet before us is a Letter addressed to an American lady in France, who went to Europe while very young, and when "all was tranquil and flourishing in the United States," and who, it seems, has recently written "to inquire what ground there could possibly be for the dreadful accusations she hears against us everywhere abroad." The Letter is published at the request of some friends to whom it was shown, and who "had ridiculed the idea of any attempt at exculpation, supposing that the nation was dishonored past hope." The writer has done well to consent to its publication, and for ourselves we thank him for it. He states circumstances as they are, without, however, attempting to justify the doctrine of repudiation — a doctrine of which no terms which language affords are too strong to express our abhorrence. Still the charge of repudiation is one to which certain of the States, and not the nation, as such, is exposed, — a distinction which foreigners are not ready enough to make.

Among other topics treated by the writer, are the United States Bank; debts of the States; love of money; gravity of manners; slavery; Lynch law; success of our form of government; selfishness; dishonesty; coarseness of manners; tyranny of public opinion; security of property; elections; popular violence; mobs; strength of the government; general results of our experiment; and growing attachment to the Union. The writer does not attempt to defend what is indefensible, nor to palliate dishonesty. He manifests a strong love of justice, and

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honorable and elevated feelings. His pamphlet, if read abroad, would have the effect, certainly of making the case of our country better understood, and perhaps of rendering Europeans somewhat less indiscriminate in their censure.

We are gratified to learn that the sale of this Letter has been such as to demand a second edition, which will appear in a few days, with the name of the author, Mr. Thomas G. Cary, of this city. L.

The Kingdom of God. A Sermon, preached at the Ordination of John Pierpont Jr., as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Lynn, October 11, 1843. By Rev. Caleb Stetson. *With the Charge,* by Rev. John Pierpont. *Right Hand of Fellowship,* by Rev. J. T. Sargent. *Address to the People,* by Rev. Convers Francis, D. D. Lynn. 1843. 8vo. pp. 30.

These are fresh, stirring, earnest performances. Whether or not some of the views are too highly colored, and the statements occasionally overcharged, is not a question we feel any disposition to discuss. Strong, ardent feeling does not deal much in critical analysis, but talks "right on," pouring out its own fervid utterances as they come up from the depths of the soul, without qualifying phrase, or formal definition.

The Sermon by Mr. Stetson, like all his performances, shows an active, vigorous mind, and great sincerity and warmth of feeling. The "Reign of God" in the world — its present imperfect establishment — what are the prospects of its coming — and what we can do to hasten it — constitute his topics. In the course of his remarks he speaks of the selfishness of the age, the need of reform, and the signs of the speedy coming of a better era. Whether his readers should or should not go along with him in all his views — and they are not *ultra* — they will give him credit, at least, for avoiding denunciation and abuse, which form the staple of so much of the eloquence of the day. L.

Dedication with Joy. A Sermon, delivered at the Dedication of the New Meetinghouse of the First Congregational Society in Charlestown, N. H., *Nov.* 8, 1843. By J. Crosby, Pastor of the Society. Keene. 1843. 8vo. pp. 12.

The idea which runs through this Discourse — dedication with joy — appears to us a happy one, accordant with the Christian spirit, and growing directly out of the religious nature of man. The hallowed associations which gather around the house of worship, — dedicated to the Universal Father, to Chris-

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tian liberty, to a spirit of love and peace, — naturally connect themselves with joy and gladness — the joy of faith and hope, ever pointing upward to the home of the purified soul. The Discourse is written in a pure and perspicuous style, and in a tone which must have been felt to harmonize with the occasion, with the feelings of devout hearts, and the divine breathings of a Gospel of love. L.

The Christian Doctrine of Consecration. A Sermon preached to the Society worshipping in the First Congregational Church, Quincy, on Sunday, November 19, 1843. By their Minister, WILLIAM P. LUNT. Quincy. 1843. 8vo. pp. 16.

THIS discourse was prepared in the usual course of ministerial duty, and contains sound instruction. From the text, "It is Corban, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me," Mark vii. 11, Mr. Lunt treats of the various evasions of moral duty, in different ages, under pretence of religion, or the performance of religious rites — rites often founded on mistaken piety or superstition. He then speaks of true Christian consecration, as regards one's property, time, affections, and person, or life. The sermon is marked by that purity of style which distinguishes all Mr. Lunt's performances. L.

Sermon preached November 26, 1843, *at the Ordination of Mr. Dexter Clapp, over the Unitarian Church at Savannah, Ga.* By HENRY W. BELLOWS, Minister of the First Congregational Church in New York. *With the Charge*, by SAMUEL GILMAN, D. D. of Charleston, S. C. New York. 1843. 8vo. pp. 32.

WE welcome this Discourse from the extreme South with no ordinary pleasure. Mr. Bellows feelingly laments that a theme was forced upon him by circumstances, which he would not otherwise have chosen. He would gladly forget, if he could, that the Church throughout the world was not sympathising with the joy inspired by the occasion. But this was impossible. "We cannot," says he, "if we would, banish the reflection that we are greatly isolated in this day's business; that there is something which divides between us and the great body of believers." What this is, he goes on to state. He considers Unitarians alone as following out the true Protestant principle — as in fact the only genuine and consistent Protestants. This proposition he illustrates at some length.

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But there is a truth, he says, "lying deeper than the right of private judgment, and which indeed is the foundation of that right, and the centre upon which turns the whole theological controversy of our times. The right of private judgment has its basis in the worth of the individual man." Starting from this point, the worth of "*man* as *man*," he proceeds to speak of the influence of Unitarian and Orthodox views of human nature, as favorable or unfavorable to "human progress and individual growth," in other words, to the "freedom and salvation of the individual man" — to his "salvation from ignorance and sin; from intellectual and moral death." We will not attempt to give a view of the variety of his topics and illustrations; nor will our space allow us to speak particularly of the excellent Charge by Dr. Gilman. L.

The Present. No's 1, 2, 3, and 4. New York: W. H. Channing, Editor and Proprietor. 1843. 8vo. 36 pp. in each number.

They who have seen this "little Monthly," as the editor modestly calls it, in his "Introduction," will not need to be told what we have just said, — that it is published in New York, where the first number was issued in September last; that it is under the editorial management of Rev. William H. Channing; and that its aim is, and will be, "to aid all movements which seem fitted to produce union and growth in religion, science, and society." "It will seek to reconcile faith and free inquiry, law and liberty, order and progress; to harmonize sectarian and party differences by statements of universal principles, and to animate hopeful efforts on all sides to advance the reign of Heaven on earth." As we have looked into its pages, it has seemed to us to be full of hearty and significant words; to be animated by a most humane, sympathizing and manly spirit; and to set forth its views with frankness and independence. Topics relating to social amelioration are more prominent than any others, though there is such variety as to include fiction and verse, sketches and fables. We do not find the *Present*, though inclined to favor Fourierism, to be the professed organ of the friends of the doctrine of Association in this country. That office belongs rather to the *Phalanx*. For our own part, we should value this periodical, and greet its appearance with a welcome, if for no other reason, yet because it affords a channel through which its able and true-hearted editor can communicate with his fellow-men at large. It is hardly necessary to say that our views, in relation to many of the topics he so earnestly discusses, do not coincide with his. If they did, our efforts, of

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course, would not be directed as they are at present. But we believe there are evils, real and deeply-seated, in society as it is; and while we contribute our own exertions for their gradual removal, we will not fail to admire the purity of purpose and loftiness of aim that distinguish the labors of such men as Mr. Channing. Perhaps there might be some improvement in *The Present* in definiteness of statement, and clearness of expression.

H.

Matins and Vespers; with Hymns and Occasional Devotional Pieces. By JOHN BOWRING. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1844. 32mo. pp. 228.

THIS book is a little gem in its way. Of the beautiful devotional poetry it contains, we need not speak; it is familiar to the lips and to the hearts of multitudes. Bowring's *Matins and Vespers* has taken its place among the classics of this kind of poetry. There is a peculiar sweetness and charm in many of the pieces which compose the volume, that must lead a person who has once looked into it to wish again and again to recur to it. We like to see such poetry clothed in a garment befitting its intrinsic worth. This little pocket edition, printed by George Coolidge, presents an agreeable appearance to the eye, and it gives us pleasure to notice it, both for the merit of the poetry and the beauty of the typography.

L.

Daily Manna for Christian Pilgrims. By EARON STOW. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1844. 24mo., pp. 128.

THIS is another volume from the same press, and executed in the same beautiful style of typography. It is a sort of Manual, containing a text for every day in the year, accompanied with suggestions showing how to use the passage or to what sort of inquiries or reflections it should lead, and followed by a stanza or couplet, from a psalm or hymn, — the text, directions for the use of it, and the poetry occupying from eight to twelve lines. The poetry is, for the most part, of the most ordinary kind of devotional poetry, and the book is evidently made for persons of Orthodox belief. There is much in it to which we should object, but there are many, no doubt, among those whose views harmonize with those of the author, to whom the volume will prove highly acceptable.

L.

*** Several Notices, which we had prepared, we are compelled by want of room to defer.

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INTELLIGENCE.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Ministers and Churches. — The frequent changes in the ministry, which have marked the last few years, have had an effect upon the relation of the clergy to the people which we cannot but lament. It has lessened their professional influence, and weakened the sympathies which in any case should bind a people to their minister. The minister now seldom feels that he has found a home for life, and the people are ready for slight cause to dissolve a connexion which they have learned not to regard as permanent. We trust that the evil has reached its height. Several of our churches are now destitute of pastors, as Taunton, Nantucket, Cabotville and Barnstable. In Boston two of our congregations are without ministers — that worshipping at King's Chapel, and the Hawes Society at South Boston. Our other churches here and in the immediate neighborhood, with the exception of Waltham and East Lexington, are now supplied with pastors. The "Second Church" in this city, under Rev. Mr. Robbins, have voted to take down their old meetinghouse in Hanover Street, and to erect on the same spot an edifice whose style of architecture shall be ornamental to the city. The "Church of the Disciples," under Rev. Mr. Clarke, finding Amory Hall, which they have used as their place of worship for several months, both inconvenient and too small for their purpose, now hold their services — on Sunday morning and evening — in the Masonic Temple. Our churches in other parts of the country are in a healthful condition.

Increase of Churches in Boston. — The growth of population in this city calls for constant addition to the number of churches. The Mayor, in his late Inaugural Address, states that the increase of population in Boston since it became a city, in 1822, or in twenty-two years, has been 145 per cent.; it being then 45,000, and now being estimated at 110,000. Most of the religious denominations appear to feel the obligation which is laid upon them to extend the means of religious instruction. The "Mount Vernon Church," gathered a year or two since by Rev. Mr. Kirk, have just taken possession of their new meetinghouse in Somerset Court. It is a large and commodious building. In consequence of some dissension in Rev. Mr. Towne's Society, at the north part of the city, a division has taken place, and Mr. Towne has begun to collect a new congregation in one of the halls of the Tremont Temple. This building, which was formerly the Tremont Theatre, has been remodelled in the interior, and now, besides other rooms, affords a large and convenient chapel for the use of the Baptist church under the care of Rev. Mr. Colver. A new Universalist Society has been formed, and taken a lease of the Chardon Street Chapel. We observe however, that the Marlboro' church, which formerly met at the Marlboro' Chapel, "has been dis-

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solved," — a singular fact, and not without its significance to those who know the origin and history of that church.

Clerical Controversy. — Rev. Dr. Wainwright of the Episcopal, and Rev. Dr. Potts of the Presbyterian Church, in New York, are engaged in a controversy upon the question — whether there can be a Church without a Bishop — a question, as Dr. Johnson might say, of lexicographical importance. As a matter of fact, so far as any earthly or spiritual purpose is concerned, Dr. Potts has all the advantage on his side, and it is altogether a gratuitous kindness in him to demolish Episcopal pretension for the benefit of idle spectators or curious readers. As for the effect which discussions conducted in this way have upon seriously minded persons, who in consequence of their being seriously disposed have already taken a position with one side or the other, we suppose they turn conviction into obstinacy and prejudice into passion. The present controversy grew out of remarks made by Dr. Wainwright at the annual dinner of the New England Society in New York, after an Address by Hon. Mr. Choate, in which he had spoken of the Puritans as exhibiting the spectacle of a State without a King, and a Church without a Bishop. Dr. Wainwright maintained that the latter clause was a contradiction in terms, and expressed his readiness to prove this on any proper occasion. Dr. Potts accepts the challenge, and after some preliminary correspondence respecting the mode of conducting the discussion, the parties have entered upon the merits of the case in a series of letters published by each writer in the *Commercial Advertiser* — a political journal, of respectable character, in the city of New York.

We observe in one of the religious papers notice of a discussion recently held at Lexington, Ky., between Rev. Alexander Campbell, the head of the sect called Campbellites, and Rev. Mr. Rice, of the Presbyterian Church, "on the principal points which distinguish the former from the latter." The "Moderators" are said to have been Hon. Henry Clay, Chief Justice Robertson, and Col. J. S. Smith. The paper from which we derive our information remarks, with some point, that "both parties beat." The result of such discussions usually is, that each party claims the victory.

Ordinations. — Two Ordinations only, that come within our record, occurred in the month of December.

Mr. MARTIN W. WILLIS, from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the "Town Congregational Society" in WALPOLE, N. H., December 6, 1843. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston, from Matthew xvi. 19; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene, N. H.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Mr. Crosby of Charlestown, N. H., Rev. Mr. Brown of Brattleboro', Vt., and Rev. Mr. Leonard of Dublin, N. H.

Mr. FREDERIC HINCKLEY, from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the Unitarian Society in WINDSOR, Vt., December 13, 1843. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston; the

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Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Thomas of Concord, N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Willis of Walpole, N. H.; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Brown of Brattleboro', Vt; and the other services, by Elder Hazen, Rev. Mr. Nightingale of Athol, and Rev. Mr. Sweet of Pomfret, Vt.

Rev. WILLIAM WARE, late editor of the *Christian Examiner*, has taken charge of the Society in WEST CAMBRIDGE, of which the late Rev. David Damon was minister.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Brownson's Quarterly Review. — The most remarkable occurrence in our literary world is the reappearance of Mr. Brownson's Review, with even more of his peculiar mental character impressed upon its pages than formerly, since now it is exclusively his, — bearing his name, and presenting the productions of his pen alone. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Brownson's opinions or changes of opinion, no one can deny the earnestness and industry of his mind, his power and skill as a writer, or the courageous and almost reckless independence with which he throws his views before the public. It is the freshness and force of his convictions, whatever for the time they may be, with his mastery of the English language, which gives to his writings an attraction which those who differ from him widely in his philosophical or theological speculations need not be reluctant to acknowledge. He has written himself into notice, and will probably exert a considerable influence upon the scientific investigation of the subjects which he handles. His connexion with the *Democratic Review*, having been found mutually inconvenient, has been dissolved, and he now appears in the freedom and strength of his own spirit. The first number of his *Quarterly* shows the versatility of his mind as well as the activity of his pen. Philosophy, religion and politics alike come under his survey, and in each of these departments of thought questions with which ordinary writers might feel some hesitation at grappling are discussed both with ability and with zest. From many of Mr. Brownson's conclusions we dissent, and upon some of the ideas which it is his present aim to unfold we should not agree with him, but we are glad to see him engaged in giving a manly and high tone to thought in our community. He occupies very different ground from that which he maintained only two or three years since. He is anxious indeed to charge upon the misapprehension of others, rather than upon any change in himself, the apparent difference in his position; but whether it be that he thinks more justly or that he writes more clearly, he seems to be a sounder man, and we of course welcome his Journal without that distrust of the influence it will exert, which we once might have felt.

American Monthly Literature. — We feel ourselves compelled at the earliest opportunity to express our disapprobation of the character which is borne by many of our popular magazines, and of the man-

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ner in which they are conducted. When we consider how much they might do in elevating the character of our literature and in nourishing a taste for profitable reading, we are grieved and disgusted at the amount of idle, ephemeral, useless fiction which they pour out upon the country. That their pages are free from a positively immoral influence, does not entitle them to commendation. It only saves them from a heavier charge than that to which they are now liable, and which is heavy enough. They injure the intellectual character of their readers; they create a taste for the very weakest and poorest mental aliment; they in fact enfeeble instead of strengthening the mind, and dissipate instead of refreshing or expanding the sensibilities. We lament this the more, because we see the names of some of our estimable writers used to sanction this abuse of the public favor. The contributions which such writers furnish should indicate a just sense of the value of periodical literature, and not exhibit that miserable dilution of talent which reduces them to a level with the articles without pith or point — the worthless tales and showy prattle — in company with which they are found. We rejoice that there are publications of the class we are noticing, which seem to have some other object than to obtain "the largest circulation," and show a wish to benefit those whom they reach. But of those which pay their female subscribers, particularly, the poor compliment of offering them "embellishments" as a compensation for the want of instructive matter, we can speak only in terms of remonstrance and condemnation.

New Works. — Several valuable works have recently been published in this city, which we hope hereafter to notice more at length. Besides Mr. Norton's additional Volumes on the "Genuineness of the Gospels," mentioned in the last number of the *Examiner*, and Mr. Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico," which every body has read or means to read, two volumes of Sermons selected from the manuscripts of the late Dr. Greenwood have appeared, with a Memoir prepared by his friend, Mr. Eliot; Rev. James Martineau's "Endeavors after the Christian Life," a volume of practical discourses, has been reprinted from the English edition; Rev. Dr. Flint, of Salem, has published a small collection of Sermons designed for young persons, under the title of "A Present from a Pastor to his Young Parishioners;" Mr. James R. Lowell has issued a new volume of Poems. A second edition of Mr. Waterston's "Thoughts on Spiritual Culture" has just been printed.

Among the publications which we find at the booksellers, we have been particularly attracted by the *Illuminated and New Pictorial Bible*, of which the Harpers have just issued the first number, in 24 pages of a large quarto size. It is highly creditable to the enterprise and taste of the Publishers. It is printed on fine paper, with a clear type, and with marginal ornaments executed on wood, but in a style worthy of commendation. It is the most *beautiful* edition of the Bible ever undertaken in this country, and is put at a price of which no one ought to complain. It will be completed "in about fifty numbers," at twenty-five cents each. It is free from note or comment, except the titles of the chapters, and contains a column of marginal references between the two columns of text on every page.

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Works in Preparation. — The late Dr. Ware, it is known, had made considerable progress in preparing a Memoir of Dr. Noah Worcester, the author of "Bible News," and the Apostle of Peace. After Dr. Ware's death the unfinished work was put into the hands of one of Dr. Worcester's family, by whom it has been completed, and will soon be published.

Materials are accumulating for the Memoir of Rev. Dr. Channing, which will be prepared by one bearing his name and competent to do justice to the high theme with which Providence has entrusted him. It will be many months, however, before the work will be ready for the press.

A Memoir of Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., D. D. is in course of preparation by one fully competent to the sacred office he has undertaken. Some time must elapse before it can be given to the public. We trust it will be found that selections may be made from the papers left by Dr. Ware, to furnish a volume of unpublished matter from his pen. Why might not his various writings already published be collected into one or more volumes, for the use of his friends and the benefit of those by whom they have not yet been read?

Professor Sparks has in preparation the first volume of a new series of American Biography. It will contain Lives written by Mr. Sparks and Mr. A. H. Everett.

The *Law Reporter* of this city announces that Hon. Daniel Webster "is engaged on a history of the origin of the Federal Constitution and the administration of Washington."

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

National Affairs. — To one who looks at the financial interests or physical prosperity of the country we suppose its present state must be a subject of gratification. Throughout a large part of the Union business has recovered from the prostration with which it was overwhelmed two or three years ago, and affords sufficient encouragement to the enterprising or the industrious to engage in the accumulation of property. Now, emphatically, is the time to be honest; individuals and communities should now make provision for the payment of their debts. This we believe will be done immediately by some, and eventually it must be done by all. If principle and honor will not keep men and States from reducing the theory of "repudiation" to practice, a sense of interest — mere worldly interest — will compel them to save their characters from utter ruin. This too is a time to exercise caution and self-control. The temptations to an unsafe and immoral use of credit will revive, and they who shall "make haste to be rich" will probably find that the laws of Providence are too strong for them to break. Integrity and moderation should be preached now, in the pulpit, and at the corners of the streets.

Our political condition just now is comparatively tranquil. The great parties into which the country is divided are preparing to measure their strength, rather than actually engaged in the struggle for power. Some elections are past, and others are too distant to

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enkindle as yet much warm feeling. In this time of relief from the fury of party strife, cannot religion speak with effect through its ministers, and call the people to a higher view of political privilege and a more just and solemn sense of political responsibleness?

Congress are in session; and have been in session several weeks, as usual, without doing any thing but — talk and propose things to be done. One important occurrence however should be noted. Mr. Adams, the unconquerable champion of the right of petition, has succeeded in forcing Southern members from the ground which in previous sessions they have taken on this subject, and obtained the appointment of a Committee, of which he is chairman, to report on the relations of the General Government to the question of Slavery. We presume the only result will be, to establish the right of petition, and to lessen the influence of the South in Congress.

Massachusetts. — The State Government in Massachusetts for the present year has been organized in all its branches. The party last in office has given place to the party which they had displaced. Such examples of the instability of power under our institutions, one would think, might teach some useful lessons; but people are as slow to draw instruction from the insecurity of political as from the uncertainty of the natural life.

Fourier Convention. — A Convention was held in this city, the first week in January, which continued its sessions for four days, for the purpose of discussing the plan of social organization proposed by Fourier, and other schemes based on the principle of associated industry. The Communities at Brook Farm in West Roxbury, at Hopedale in Mendon, at Northampton on Connecticut river, and at Skeneateles in New York, and also, we believe, the Sylvania Community in Pennsylvania, were represented. There was much earnest discussion, with some very good and some very poor speaking, but less of harmony and good temper than we were prepared to find. A considerable part of the discussion turned upon the right to hold individual property; Mr. Collins, from Skeneateles, denying this right, and contending single-handed against the talent and reproach that were brought to bear upon him. Two parties obviously composed the Convention, representing respectively the principles of Community, and of Association. Messrs. George Ripley, Adin Ballou, J. H. Collins, W. H. Channing, Albert Brisbane, W. L. Garrison, O. A. Brownson, A. B. Alcott, besides others of less note or less ability, took part in the proceedings. On the whole, we suppose that they by whom the meetings were called were satisfied with their character. Plainly as we see, and deeply as we lament the evils of society as it now exists, we believe improvement must come from individual fidelity to Christian principles, rather than from any social organization. Society will come right, when all its members are right.

*** Obituary articles, which were in type, we are obliged to omit.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MARCH, 1844.

Art. I. — NORTON ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.*

More than six years ago† we gave some account of Mr. Norton's first volume on the Evidences of the Genuineness of our present Gospels, then recently published. To enable our readers the better to understand the argument pursued in the two additional volumes just issued, we will advert, in few words, to the author's original design, and state the ground already gone over. Mr. Norton's object, as the title of the book informs us, is to prove the genuineness of the Gospels, that is, to show, as he expresses it, "that they remain essentially the same as they were originally written; and that they have been ascribed to their true authors." This has been denied, and various theories have been formed, especially by some German theologians, to account for their existence. Mr. Norton means to show that these theories, some of which he no-

* *The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.* By Andrews Norton. Vols. II. and III. Cambridge: John Owen. 1844. 8vo. pp. 478 and 404.

† Christian Examiner for July, 1837, Vol. iv. 3d Series.

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tices, are false and groundless, and in order to do this, he goes over the whole subject of the historical evidences of the books in question, leaving the internal evidences as yet untouched. Of the thoroughness of his work, so far as he had proceeded, we spoke in our former article. He considers the historical evidences under two great divisions. First, he states the "testimony of the great body of early Christians to the genuineness of the Gospels." With this his first volume was occupied, and of the freshness and force of the argument as conducted by him many of his readers, doubtless, retain a vivid impression. Those who have treated of the historical evidences of the Gospels have usually stopped here. But in addition to this, which he calls the *direct* historical evidence, there is, as Mr. Norton contends, confirmatory evidence to be derived from the early heretical sects, especially the Gnostics. This he calls the *indirect*, or subsidiary, historical evidence. This evidence, which is to be gathered from a hitherto unexplored field, it is the object of the present two volumes to present. It is only a part, as we have said, a subsidiary part, of the historical evidence of our faith of which they profess to treat. By keeping in view this fact, those of our readers, who may be unacquainted with the first volume, will be saved the disappointment of looking for what they will not find in them. Mr. Norton thus speaks in his preface: —

"In order to understand the nature and value of this evidence, it is necessary to be acquainted with the history and doctrines of the Gnostics, and the relations in which they stood to the catholic Christians. But this subject is one of very considerable difficulty. The Gnostics have hung like a dark cloud round the early history of Christianity. Such accounts have been given of them as to make their existence appear something strange and inexplicable. The obscurity thus spread over the early history of our religion has afforded opportunity for surmises and objections unfavorable to its truth. Whatever may tend to dispel it, and to let in a clearer light on the circumstances accompanying the reception of Christianity in the Gentile world, may tend equally to strengthen our assurance of the reality of what is recorded in the Gospels.

It may be added, that the doctrines of the Gnostics are connected with some of the most important facts in the history of opinions, and some of the most remarkable phenomena in the operations of the human mind. In order to be understood, they

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must be viewed in their relation to the circumstances in which they had their origin. We are thus led to enter on a wide inquiry concerning these circumstances, whence our immediate subject receives illustration, and to which also it affords illustration in return. While studying in a proper manner the doctrines of the Gnostics, we are at the same time studying the character of ancient philosophy, and the tendencies of thought on the higher subjects of speculation." — Vol. ii. Preface, pp. vi, vii.

This is well stated. Gnosticism, in its character, origin, and history, has presented one of the "vexed questions" in ecclesiastical history. It is a question on which much labor has been bestowed by the learned, but still the veil has not been fully lifted, and never can be. Gnosticism "idealises everything." "Gnosticism," says Hahn, "is poetry." There is a poetic element, no doubt, in some of its myths, yet its wild and fanciful speculations, and theosophic dreams are too subtle, or present images too vague and uncertain, to be readily grasped by the modern intellect. Then the Gnostics left no writings which have come down to us, if we except two or three short pieces, and a few fragments preserved in quotations, and we are compelled to judge of them chiefly through the representations of their adversaries, some of whom appear to have been ill-informed, and have left us obscure and incomplete accounts, and others were prejudiced and have transmitted pictures which bear too evident marks of an unfriendly hand to be implicitly trusted.

Of those who have treated of Gnosticism, briefly and incidentally, or more at length, in modern times, few have pronounced an enlightened and impartial judgment on the subject. Mosheim is always to be spoken of with respect, and Beausobre's History of Manichæism, in which something is said of the Gnostics, is a rich store-house of information, which no one can explore without profit, nor without admiration of the critical sagacity of the author, equalled only by his singular fairness and impartiality. Since they wrote, says Professor Matter of Strasbourg, in his History of Gnosticism, "the conquests, which letters have achieved in the East and in Africa, have marked a new era in studies pertaining to the ancient world. The effect has been to put to flight a crowd of errors and gratuitous

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hypotheses." Whether or not the Professor overrates the assistance to be derived from these discoveries, is a question we shall not attempt to discuss. Since the period to which he alludes, Münter, Lewald, Neander, Hahn, and others, have appeared in the field, and the Professor himself published his History of Gnosticism, a work of more brilliancy than exactness and depth, in 1828. He freely acknowledges, however, that the subject still presents many difficulties, and many questions which are insolvable. Mr. Norton, as the above extract shows, has not overlooked the difficulties which attend it, and as we read his work attentively, we often find occasion to admire his searching criticism, and the sagacity with which he disentangles threads which seemed inextricably confused.

As his book is probably in the hands of but few of our readers, we will attempt to give some general account of what they may expect to find in it, reserving such remarks as we may have to present, till the conclusion of our survey. We shall indulge somewhat freely in extracts, both from a sense of justice to the author, and from a belief that they will be more generally acceptable than anything we could offer in their place.

With the exception of the Ebionites, or Jewish heretical Christians, the Gnostics, in their several branches, constituted the principal heretical sect, or seets, during the first two centuries. Divided and subdivided as these latter were, there were striking characteristics common to them all, which distinguished them from the great body of Christians, whom, for the sake of distinction, Mr. Norton calls catholic. They all, however, made great account of Christianity, and the ministry of Jesus, as he states, was the "key-stone of their hypotheses." This, and the circumstance that they appealed to Christian writings, and to no other, it is, which gives to their opinions a value as bearing on the evidences of the genuineness of the Gospels.

"By the generality of Christians, they were regarded as adversaries, not as fellow disciples; and they, in return, looked upon the many, as unenlightened followers of Christ, who did not comprehend the essential character of his mission, were ignorant of the true God, whom he came to reveal, and mistook for that God, who had been before unknown, the inferior being who was the God of the Jews. With the exception of the

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Marcionites, they appear generally to have considered themselves as distinguished from all others, in their original conformation, by the peculiar possession of a spiritual principle, implanted in their nature, which was a constant source of divine illumination. Thus, in examining into the genuineness of the Gospels, the early Gnostics present themselves as an independent set of witnesses, widely separated, in their opinions and feelings, from the catholic Christians. Their doctrines were, at the same time, of such a character, as to seem, at first view, to admit of no reconciliation with the contents of the Gospels. 'It was impossible,' says Gibbon, 'that the Gnostics could receive our present Gospels, many parts of which (particularly in the resurrection of Christ) are directly, and, as it might seem, designedly, pointed against their favorite tenets.'* If, notwithstanding this supposed impossibility, we should find that the Gnostics actually bear testimony to the genuineness of the Gospels, their evidence must clearly have a distinct and peculiar value." — Vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

Again,

"It is particularly to be observed, that the earlier Gnostics lived at a time, when, if the Gospels be not genuine, the question respecting their credit and value must have been entirely open and unsettled; that, upon the supposition of their not being genuine, they were works of the contemporaries of those Gnostics, or of individuals of the age immediately preceding; and that their late origin, therefore, must have been so notorious, that no process of reasoning could have been required to make it evident, that they were not genuine. But, in rejecting their authority on such indisputable ground, the Gnostics, instead of carrying on a doubtful and disadvantageous contest, would have gained a decisive triumph over their opponents by simply pointing out the fact, that the catholic system of faith, so far as it contradicted their own, was founded on writings pretending to an authority which they did not possess." — Vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

We beg our readers to keep these statements in mind. There are one or two other circumstances to which we would ask them to give particular attention before we proceed, lest they accuse us of losing sight of the point from which we start. To estimate correctly the evidence of our religion derived from the Gnostics, it is necessary that we should have some acquaintance with their history and doc-

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ch. xv., note 35. Vol. ii. p. 286. London. 1820.

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trines; and an exposition of these, Mr. Norton observes, is not only essential to his present purpose, but "will also lead us to various points of view, important as illustrating the history of opinions and the early history of the evidences" generally "of our religion." To some of these aspects of the inquiry Mr. Norton adverts. Thus, an acquaintance with the history and doctrines of the Gnostics will "enlarge our views of the condition of the world, when Christianity was revealed; and every accession to our knowledge concerning the intellectual and moral state of men in those times is adapted to strengthen our conviction of the divine origin of our religion." We must know what Christianity was called to combat, before we can fully understand its merits. Its power will be perceived by "the strength of the obstacles over which it has triumphed."

These and other considerations make it necessary, in Mr. Norton's view, to go somewhat at large into the history and explanation of Gnostic opinions. If, then, in the sketch we are about to present, — which, to obviate the necessity of frequent reference, we give notice, is founded chiefly on Mr. Norton's account, — we may be thought to dwell on the doctrines of the Gnostics longer than would seem to be required in a statement of the evidences of the Christian faith, our apology is, that we are only following the path of inquiry which Mr. Norton has marked out. We intend to preserve the proper proportions in our article, and to give to a delineation of the Gnostic system no greater prominence than it holds in Mr. Norton's volumes. We shall start with him on our journey into the shadowy region of Gnosticism, in the hope, under his guidance, of emerging again into the realms of day. If our readers can make up their minds to accompany us, we will do our best to beguile the tediousness of the way; at least, we will select the shortest and least rugged road, and help them, if we can, to bring back an offering to lay at the feet of religion. One benefit surely may be derived from this survey of ancient error, — we shall know the better how to prize our present simpler faith.

There were in early times Christians who called themselves *Gnostic*, that is enlightened, (such being the original meaning of the word,) as distinguished from the vulgar or common believers. To these Clement of Alexandria fre-

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quently refers, and distinguishes them from the heretical Gnostics. But the present inquiry relates to the heretical Gnostics. These Mr. Norton considers under the two divisions of Marcionites and Theosophic Gnostics, of the latter of which the Valentinians may be regarded as the principal representatives. The Gnostics generally believed — and this was their fundamental distinction — that "the material universe was not formed by the Supreme Being, but by some inferior being or beings; and that this being, or one of these beings, was the God of the Jews." "In the writings of the earlier fathers against them," says Mr. Norton, "the stress of the controversy concerns this topic. It was, as we might suppose, the great point at issue between them and the catholic Christians."

The occasion of the existence of Gnosticism, Mr. Norton thus explains: —

"The state of Christians, then, during the second century, presents a very remarkable appearance. By the side of the great body of Gentile Christians, among whom such freedom of speculation prevailed, we find another smaller body of Gentile Christians, the Gnostics, agreeing with the former in acknowledging Christ as a divine teacher, but separated from them by an impassable gulf, as holding doctrines which rendered the amalgamation of the two parties impossible. Notwithstanding some striking analogies between their speculations, there was no gradual transition from one system to the other. The separation was abrupt and broad. It consisted in the fundamental doctrine of the Gnostics, that the Creator, or the principal Creator, of the universe, the God of the Jews, was not the Supreme Divinity and the God of Christians. Their scheme, without doubt, is to be regarded, in part, as a crude attempt to solve the existence of evil in the world, a subject which engaged their attention in common with that of other religious theorists of their age. But the desire to solve this problem was not, I conceive, the principal occasion of the existence of Gnosticism. This, I think, is to be found in the hereditary aversion of Gentiles to Judaism; in the traditionary views of the Old Testament, communicated by the Jews from whom it was received; and in the impossibility, which the Gnostics found, of reconciling the conceptions of God that it presents, with their moral feelings, and with those conceptions of him which they had derived from Christianity. Nor, in this respect, did they stand alone. A large portion, we know not how large, of the catholic Christians, including some of the most eminent and intellectual of their number, equally

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regarded much in the Jewish law and history as irreconcilable with correct morality and just notions of God, if understood in its literal sense. They, however, as we shall hereafter see, took a very different course from that of the Gnostics, in escaping from the difficulty with which they were pressed." — Vol. ii. p. 52 — 54.

Mr. Norton then treats of the history of the Gnostics. They arose in the former part of the second century; they were never very numerous; "and from the third to the fifth century, they were probably dwindling away; and in the fifth century, in the time of Theodoret, they seem, with the exception of some remaining Marcionites, nearly to have disappeared." Their system was cast into the shade by the Manichæans, a sect nearly allied to them, but "presenting a bolder and broader theory of the universe," than that of their predecessors.

There was great diversity of moral character among them, some being "distinguished for their severe asceticism, and others for their principled licentiousness."

"The Marcionites, influenced more by moral and Christian feeling than by any other cause, in rejecting the representations of the Old Testament as applicable to the true God, did not fall behind the catholic Christians in the strictness or strength of their self-denying virtues. On the contrary, there seems to have been much of fanaticism mixed with their renunciation of the pleasures of this life. But the theosophic Gnostics were less detached from the heathen world. They drew their vague speculations from its philosophy. There was a tendency in their minds to substitute for the realities of God's revelation a baseless, abstract faith, the evidence of which was the testimony of their own spiritual nature. They seem to have regarded Christianity too much as a system of philosophy, and too little as a divine revelation. They thus stood as a sort of intermediate class between the catholic Christians and the heathens. Many of them, doubtless, received our religion in good faith, according to their modification of it, and conformed their lives to the moral purity which it requires; but it does not appear that any considerable number felt it to be a means of the moral renovation of mankind, or regarded themselves as called upon to seal their testimony to it with their blood. It is clear, that they had not that zeal in avowing and defending and propagating their faith, as of inestimable value to their fellow-men, which exposed the catholic Christians to persecution. Some of them, pretending perhaps, as men of enlightened minds, to hold in disregard

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outward forms of religion, joined, of their own accord, in idol sacrifices; while others, like the ancient heathen philosophers, were probably ready to escape odium and vexation by whatever compliances were necessary with the popular superstitions. It appears, further, that there were some, perhaps many of their number, who, though not countenanced by their principal leaders, or the more respectable portion of the theosophic Gnostics, seized on the doctrine of the incorruptible purity of their spiritual nature, as a pretence for indulging in gross vices." — Vol. ii. pp. 185 — 187.

The views which the Gnostics entertained of the Old Testament, and the manner in which the fathers, not deemed heretical, solved the difficulties attending it, present a peculiarly interesting subject of inquiry. The Gnostics ridiculed the whole of the Old Testament. There were many things in it, they said, unworthy of the "perfect God;" the God of the Jews was "just," but not "good." It was impossible, they maintained, that the God of the Old Testament and the God of Christians could be the same. The orthodox fathers felt the force of many of their objections, and were evidently embarrassed by them; but they had their way of solving them, and this was by the allegorical mode of interpretation, which had been resorted to by the heathen in explaining the more extravagant parts of their mythology. This mode of interpretation was, indeed, common in their age. The philosophical Jews, especially Philo, had used it, and the fathers followed without scruple in the same track. Philo, says Mr. Norton,* had the "same feeling as the Christian fathers, of the objections to which it (the Old Testament) is liable, if understood in its obvious sense, and of the supposed necessity of recurring to a hidden meaning." Thus, speaking of the serpent which tempted Eve, and of the brazen serpent of Moses, he says, "these things, as they are written, are like prodigies and portents; but when allegorically explained, the fabulous immediately disappears, and the truth is manifestly discovered." Again, referring to the words, "and God planted a garden in Eden," he speaks of the absurdity of understanding this literally of planting vines, or fruit

* Vol. ii. p. 259.

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trees of any kind. "We must," says he, "have recourse to allegory, the friend of clear-sighted men."

The fathers had another mode of getting rid of difficulties, somewhat analagous to that of the Gnostics. Thus, pressed with the passages which represent the Divine Being as "descending to talk with men," or as "walking in the garden," and others of a similar kind, they introduced a second God, the Logos, who was the agent of the Father in creating the universe, conversed with the patriarchs, gave the law by Moses, and on various occasions manifested himself to the children of Israel. By these expedients they contrived to escape difficulties which they saw no other mode of evading. In a note at the end of the volume, Mr. Norton gives what he conceives to be the only true mode of avoiding these difficulties. To this note we shall recur at the conclusion of our article. For the present we proceed with the subject of the Gnostics.

The question, whence comes evil, is as old almost as human reason itself. It is a legacy transmitted from the earliest times. Imperfection and evil exist; whence do they originate, or to what are they to be attributed? To this question a large part of the speculations of the Gnostics had reference. It was the great problem of the universe, which they attempted to solve by the most daring hypotheses. They had a two-fold method of unravelling the great mystery of the existence of evil. First, they taught that the Creator was an inferior and imperfect being. The Maker of the material universe, who was the God of the Jews, as their ancient writings taught, was himself, according to the Valentinians, "ignorant of the existence of the Supreme Being before it was discovered to him by the coming of Christ," and supposed himself to be the only true God. Being himself imperfect, the work which proceeded from his hands was imperfect also. He was, as before said, regarded as "just" rather than "good," — a distinction, however, on which the Marcionites insisted more strongly than the theosophic Gnostics.

The theory, that the world was created and governed by an inferior being, or beings, was not, however, original with the Gnostics. We find it in Plato, from whom they seem, either directly or indirectly, to have derived it. From Plato it had travelled down to their times, and "was in

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accordance with the philosophical speculations of their age." The Jews and the catholic Christians held analagous doctrines. We have already alluded to the agency of the Son, or Logos, in the creation of the world and in various parts of the Jewish dispensation, as the doctrine of the early orthodox fathers. They believed, too, in subordinate ministers, as angels, who were employed in the government of the world. Some of these angels sinned with the daughters of earth, and hence sprang demons, who, as the fathers taught, were the gods of the heathen. These were subjected to one chief, or head, who has occupied a conspicuous place in the theology of both ancient and modern times. Of this doctrine, which forms a sort of parallel to Gnosticism, and is not yet extinct, Mr. Norton thus expresses himself:—

"The doctrine concerning the rule of Satan over the world finally assumed a form among catholic Christians, in which it may be compared with the most unfavorable representations that have been given of Gnosticism, and in which it is not distinguished, by any characteristic that may recommend it, from what was regarded as the odious heresy of the Manichæans. Even so early as the second century, the lineaments of that belief on this subject which afterwards prevailed are distinctly traced in a passage of Athenagoras. According to Athenagoras, Satan was originally created an angel of light, and intrusted by God with the administration of matter, and the forms of matter. This ruler over matter, and the other angels who rule over the affairs of this first 'firmament,' fell into sin through the abuse of their moral liberty. Satan became an enemy of God; and his administration is opposite to the goodness of God. Hence, he says, the poet Euripides doubted whether there was any divine providence over the concerns of men, and the philosopher Aristotle denied its existence. According to Athenagoras himself, the providence of God regulates the general order of the universe, but 'men are moved and carried in different directions according to the nature of each, and the operations of that ruler who is over them, and of his associate demons,' who excite in men irregular desires conformable to their own natures.*

"Thus, instead of the Gnostic Creator, Athenagoras subjected men to the government of Satan, whom he viewed as the ruler of matter. This was his solution of the existence of evil. The doctrine was remotely derived from the Persian theology, into

* Athenagoræ Legatio pro Christianis, pp. 302—304. Ed. Benedict.

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which it had been introduced to solve the same difficulty. We will briefly trace its history; for in different forms it entered both into the theology of the orthodox church and the heresies of the Gnostics and the Manichæans." — Vol. iii. pp. 33, 34.

We cannot go into this history here. It is referred to, along with other and similar doctrines, to show that the Gnostic edifice is not a structure which stands alone in the ages, in all its strange and fantastic proportions. As the eye travels backward along the path of time, it discovers similar structures, which human ingenuity has reared as watch-towers, from which man might look abroad upon the heavens and earth, and penetrate the mystery of life and secrets of creation. The way was prepared for Gnosticism before it appeared. It appropriated to itself the spoils of several of the ancient philosophies. It gathered together the scattered fragments and endeavored to weave them into one grand and harmonious system. Gnosticism was essentially eclectic. It possessed, however, a certain originality, and bore evidence, we must say, of no ordinary activity of intellect on the part of several of its chiefs.

The other part of the solution of the problem of the existence of evil was found in the intractability and inherent evil of matter. Mr. Norton quotes Clement of Alexandria as saying, that the "Marcionites believe that nature is bad, as proceeding from evil matter and a just Maker," that is, as it is to be explained, a Maker who is "only just," and not good. But neither did this doctrine originate with the Gnostics. That evil is inherent in matter, was a common belief long before they appeared. Nor was their application of the doctrine new. The same doctrine had been before used to explain the disorders and evil of the world. Matter, which according to the belief of most of the ancient philosophers, was eternally existent, refused to be managed by the Creator as he would; he could impress on it certain forms of beauty and life, but there was a limit where his power terminated. He could only work with such materials as he had, and the result was necessarily imperfect. This was the doctrine of Plato and others, and some of the Christian fathers, partially, at least, adopted it. As matter was the principle of evil in the universe, so the body was regarded as the source of evil in man. By many, it was pronounced a sort of prison-house in which the soul was for a time exiled.

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These views of matter, which were taught by the Oriental philosophy as well as by some of the Greeks, laid the foundation of the asceticism which was adopted by some of the Gnostics, and which came at last to prevail extensively in the Christian Church. The same views led them to deny that Christ possessed a true human body, and also to reject the doctrine of the "resurrection of the body," which was the catholic doctrine. Some of them believed in a "material" devil, or "animate principle of evil in matter;" but the devil of the Gnostics was not, like Milton's, a fallen angel; he was not called into existence by the Supreme Being, but had his origin in the evil nature of eternally existing matter.

As preparatory to a view of the speculations of the theosophic Gnostics on the development of the Deity and the spiritual world, Mr. Norton makes an excursion with his readers into the fields of ancient philosophy, which he does not find altogether barren. The doctrine of emanation, which figures so much in the Gnostic systems, it is well known, however, did not originate with Plato. It was of Oriental origin, and had found a reception among the philosophic Jews, of whom Philo was one, long before the appearance of the Gnostics.

We despair of giving our readers any very clear conception of the spiritual world, or system of Æons, or emanations, as held by the Gnostics. Following Mr. Norton,* however, we will attempt to state one or two of the distinguishing features of this extraordinary system as embraced by the Valentinians. This system represents one being as supreme, and other divine beings as deriving their existence and substance from him, either mediately or immediately, in the way of emanation, that is, they are personified, or as Mr. Norton prefers to express it, ***hypostatized*** ideas or attributes of the unoriginated Divine Mind. "The first Cause and first Father of all things dwelt in profound repose for infinite ages in heights invisible and unutterable." He was denominated ***The Deep***, in whom lay wrapped up different Attributes, which afterwards became proper persons, or real beings. "With him was present as his spouse, ***Thought***, who was also called ***Favor*** and

* Vol. iii. p. 113, seqq.

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Silence." Through him, at a certain period, *Silence* produced *Intellect*, who resembled him and was his equal, and alone able to comprehend his greatness. He (*Intellect*) was called the *Only-begotten*, the *Father*, and the *Beginning*, or *Principle*, of all things. "With him was likewise produced *Truth*, as his *spouse*. These four, — four being a mystic number of the highest import with the Pythagoreans, — formed the first Quaternity of *Æons* or *Immortals*, which is the root of all things."

From this first Quaternity of Immortals sprang, in the process of emanation, others, male and female, in pairs. From the *Only-begotten* came the *Logos*, (*Reason*) and *Life*, and from these *Man* and the *Church*. These eight constituted the primitive Ogdoad. The process of emanation went on, and besides *Man* and the *Church*, ten others emanated from the *Logos* and *Life*, and twelve from *Man* and the *Church*, making in all thirty, all having significant names. Four others were afterwards added. These all constituted what was called the *Pleroma*, or complete development of the Divine Nature, *Pleroma* meaning *fulness*. With the exception of the first emanation, the *Only-begotten*, or *Only Son*, these were all imperfect and fallible, and their imperfection led to disorder, and finally to the production of the material world.

This came about in the following way. The *Only Son*, as we have said, alone was able to comprehend the First Father, but the desire of obtaining the same knowledge seized all the rest, the desire of knowledge proving to them, as it did to the first created pair in Paradise, the source of evil. Especially did this desire fire the breast of the *Sophia* (*Wisdom*) the youngest of the twelve who sprang from *Man* and the *Church*. In her passionate ardor she produced, through great sufferings, a shapeless being, who was called after her mother, *Wisdom*, more frequently *Achamoth* (Wisdom, or Reflection,) and who for her deformity and hideousness was cast out of the Pleroma. To prevent similar sufferings, the *Only Son*, by direction of the Father, "emitted a new pair, *Christ* and the *Holy Spirit*." The former taught them concerning the Father, and their own nature, and the *Only Son*; and the latter, the *Holy Spirit*, "taught them thanksgiving and gave them true peace." "Thus all corresponding to each other in

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form and mind, each male Æon became an *Intellect*, a *Logos*, a *Man*, and a *Christ*; and each female, in like manner, a *Truth*, a *Life*, a *Church*, and a *Holy Spirit*." Full of joy, they manifested their gratitude by contributing each what was most excellent in himself to form a new Æon, in honor of the Father, and the result was *Jesus*, or *the Saviour*, who was "the perfection, the star of the Pleroma," called also *Christ* and the *Logos*, and in reference to the mode of his production, *All* or *All Things*.

We now return to the unfortunate offspring of the *Sophia*, *Achamoth*, who was cast out of the Pleroma. The formless being was unhappy, and the Æon *Christ*, taking compassion on her misery, gave her form and consciousness, but not knowledge. She then sighed for light and knowledge, and torn with contending passions, fear, anguish, and melancholy, she implored *Christ* again to come to her assistance. He sent *Jesus*, or the *Saviour* to her, who separated her passions from her and mingled and united them with primitive matter. In her yearnings she gave being to the "substance of all souls, considered as not spiritual, but as rational," (*psychical*,) and in this manner the elements of things were formed.*

Again the *Saviour* left her, and she was perplexed, and being unable to give form to the spiritual substance she had produced, she took the *rational*, and out of it formed the immediate Creator of the world, the God of the Jews. He, being ignorant of the existence of a higher order of beings than himself, "fancied himself the origin of all things, the only God; and thus announced himself by his prophets of the Old Testament, through whom he said, 'I am God, and beside me there is no other.'"

The creation of Adam took place in this way. First, the Creator, out of an invisible, floating substance, not out of the dust of the earth, formed a principle of life, into which he infused a rational soul of the same essence with himself, and clothed the whole with an earthly body, or flesh. Into this rational soul, unknown to him, Achamoth breathed a portion of the spiritual substance to which she had given birth, "a leaven of immortality, a spirit."

* From her tears, according to some, came the waters, from her laughter, transparent matter, and from her sorrow, opaque substances.

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"From Adam, thus formed, proceeded three races of men, corresponding to the three parts of his *incorporeal* nature; the *earthy* and irrational, as Cain; the *psychical*, or rational, as Abel; and the *spiritual*, as Seth; the spiritual principle being always derived from Achamoth. The first are from their nature destined to perish; the second have the power of choice, and, as they incline themselves to good or evil, may be saved or lost; the last, as spiritual, are secure of obtaining the blessedness of the Pleroma. To this class the theosophic Gnostics regarded themselves as belonging. From their spiritual nature, which was superior to that of the Creator, they were capable of understanding the mysteries which they taught, and of which he had been ignorant. Other Christians belonged to the second class. These were to attain salvation by simple faith and good works." —Vol. iii. pp. 160, 161.

The Creator, to remedy the disorders and evils to which he could not be blind, determined himself to send a Saviour, whom he predicted through the Jewish prophets. But the superior powers, of whom, as we have said, he was ignorant, saw that a higher interposition was necessary than that of the Creator, and at the baptism of his Christ, "the Æon *Saviour* descended into him in the form of a dove, and became the true Saviour of the world." This Æon left him at his crucifixion. In consequence of their opinion of the inherent evil of matter, most of the Gnostics denied that Christ possessed a proper human body, believing it inconsistent with his perfect purity. For the same reason Marcion denied his nativity. He received the Gospel of Luke in a mutilated form, rejecting all that part of the history which precedes the appearance of Jesus in the synagogue at Capernaum. This was the only Gospel he used. The narrative of Christ's actions, miracles, and apparent sufferings he accepted as true.

In regard to their general views of the design of Christianity, the great body of the Gnostics, according to Mr. Norton, do not appear to have differed essentially from the orthodox Christians. Of the doctrine of the atonement, as it stands in modern creeds, it is clear from their views of the Saviour, they could have had no notion. Nor had the early orthodox Christians. The doctrine was equally unknown to them and to the Gnostics.

Of the comparison which has been instituted between the

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Gnostics and certain religionists of our own times, Mr. Norton thus expresses himself: —

"The theosophic Gnostics have been compared with those religionists in our own times, who maintain that the objects of faith may be felt, or may be discerned, by each individual mind, without the aid of Revelation, the belief in which they consequently reject. But the spiritual intuition, claimed by the Gnostics for themselves alone, had no agreement with this doctrine. It corresponds rather to the exclusive pretension to a supernatural faith, which many other Christian sects have set up since their time. From those modern religionists, the Gnostics were likewise very widely separated by the fundamental distinction, that they recognized in Christianity a character altogether supernatural. They regarded it as a manifestation of the Supreme God, in which his glory had, for the first time, irradiated this lower world; — as a miraculous interposition of the most extraordinary character. They were, therefore, as strongly distinguished as any Christians from all those speculatists who reject the belief, that Christianity is a revelation from God." — Vol. iii. pp. 181, 182.

But how could the Gnostics reconcile their peculiar doctrines with the teachings of our present Gospels? Did they hold these Gospels, and the other books of the New Testament in little esteem? Did they oppose to them other Gospels, or histories of their own? Every one "has heard of Apochryphal and Gnostic Gospels," and these Mr. Norton examines, in conclusion. It is not probable, he contends, that the ancient books which may be properly called the *Apochryphal Gospels* were histories of Christ's ministry, but books giving the views of the writers concerning the doctrines of Christianity. Tertullian speaks of the mutilated copy of Lukc's Gospel used by the Marcionites, but nowhere mentions any apochryphal Gospel. Irenæus once mentions a book called *the true Gospel*, but if such a book existed, it was no historical Gospel, and was a work of no notoriety, and the Valentinians, in general, attached no importance to it. He gives the title of one other book purporting to be that of an apochryphal Gospel, — "the Gospel of Judas," — that is, Judas Iscariot, which was used, as he says, by the Cainites. Mr. Norton regards the existence of any such sect, or book, as highly improbable, involving, in truth, a "moral absurdity." Neither

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Irenæus nor Tertullian alludes to any other apochryphal Gospels, nor are the Marcionites or Valentinians accused of using any other. Mr. Norton proceeds to notice the Gospel of Basilides, that according to the Egyptians, and Matthias, the Gospel of Peter, the Protevangelion of James, the Gospels of the Nativity, and the Infancy, and that of Cerinthus. The result is, to confirm the statement before made, that the Gnostics "did not oppose to the four Gospels any other history of Christ's ministry;" or, in more general terms, that "during the first three centuries, no history of Christ's ministry at variance with the four Gospels was in existence." This is the negative side of the evidence. The positive, that is, the testimony of the Gnostics to the early reception of the Gospels confirmatory of that of the catholic Christians, has been given before, and thus the argument is concluded.

We have no reason to doubt the justness of Mr. Norton's general estimate of the Gnostics, so far as they have fallen under his review. He has sifted evidence with the most scrupulous accuracy, he has examined and cross-examined his witnesses in order, if possible, to elicit from them the truth. On a subject so impenetrably obscure, involving some of the abstrusest speculations of the human intellect on the abstrusest of all inquiries, presented to our minds in language remote from all our customary forms of speech, language seemingly figurative, yet in which the figures are transformed into "proper conceptions" or beings, it is difficult to arrive at conclusions in which one can place the utmost confidence, more especially when the productions of the original writers upon it have in a great measure perished, and light is to be sought only from the imperfect and often colored and exaggerated representations of adversaries. It is possible that Mr. Norton's solicitude to give a thorough exposition of the system has led him into discussions, which some may think out of place in a work on the Evidences, and we are not quite sure that the impression which his argument leaves on the mind of the common reader is not weakened, rather than strengthened, by the copiousness in which he has indulged himself in delineating the opinions of the Gnostics. Regarded as a treatise on Gnosticism, this copiousness adds greatly to the value of his work, and we know not what part of it we could well spare. But the

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very richness of the materials, which he has spread out before the mind, may have the effect of diverting attention from the single point at which he aims, the confirmation of the historical evidences of the Gospel. But after the pleasure his volumes have afforded us, it would be ungrateful to complain. They constitute, without question, a most important addition to the theological literature of our country. In selecting the Valentinians as the representative of the great family of theosophic Gnostics, he has avoided some perplexities; he has chosen the sect whose system is most perfect and most fully developed, and about which it is less difficult to obtain just information, than in regard to most other branches of the Gnostic stock. Yet we do not see but that he has taken as much notice of the other divisions of these hardy speculatists, as the purpose of his argument required. The principal figure stands prominent, and others are brought out on the canvas with more or less distinctness according to their importance.

One or two minute criticisms only we have to offer on statements or language contained in the book. We were going to say, that in commenting on Gibbon's assertion, that the Gnostics "were distinguished as the most learned, the most polite, and most wealthy of the Christian name," Mr. Norton had, we thought, used expressions which implied too great contempt of the intellectual character and attainments of the sect; but on a careful review of the whole passage, we do not know that we ought to find fault with it.* We are willing to grant that, in learning and intellectual refinement, they were probably inferior to the most eminent of the catholic fathers of their age, as Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Yet we suppose that, compared with the great body of Christians, that may be said to have possessed a higher intellectual culture, such as it was. The term Gnostic, as used by Clement of Alexandria,† denoted an enlightened Christian, or one acquainted with the philosophy of Christianity. That the heretical Christians arrogated this term to themselves, it may be said with justice, is no proof that they possessed

* Vol. ii. p. 39, seqq.

† See the article on Bishop Kaye's "Account of the Writings of Clement of Alexandria," Christian Examiner, Vol. v. 3d series.

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true science. Yet the whole history of their opinions, and the subtlety of many of their theosophic speculations, would seem to draw a broad line of distinction between them and ordinary Christians, who were content with a much simpler faith. Their vanity was disgusting enough, and many extravagant eulogies have been pronounced upon them, yet, after all deductions, we have no difficulty in admitting their title to be called learned, according to the standard of their age, and in comparison with the great mass of believers. Some of them cultivated literature and poetry. Valentine and Basilides wrote hymns and odes. Bardesanes imitated the Psalms of David, in strains which to the Syrian ear, at least, possessed an indescribable sweetness. How many men of plain understandings, and wholly illiterate, appeared in the Gnostic ranks, it is impossible to ascertain. Probably not many. Mr. Norton, in another part of his work, speaks of the doctrines of the theosophic Gnostics as "of such a nature, that they were little likely to be embraced except by men of a peculiar turn of mind, somewhat accustomed to the philosophical speculations of the age." *

We are not perfectly sure that we understand Mr. Norton, when he speaks of the hostility of the Gentiles to the Old Testament, and the impossibility the Gnostics found of reconciling its teachings with those of the New Testament and with their own moral feelings, as the "principal occasion of the existence of Gnosticism." It seems to us that this dislike of the Old Testament was incidental rather, and that Gnosticism, in its principal speculative features, would have existed without it, — that it was something grafted upon Gnosticism, and not Gnosticism upon that. Gnosticism, as it appears to us, had its origin in those great questions, which had been agitated from time immemorial, relating to the existence of imperfection and evil in the world, and which necessarily carried back the mind to the Fountain and Cause of all things, and connected themselves with various ancient cosmogonies. If Mr. Norton means only that the hostility alluded to led to the final separation of the Gnostics from the great body of catholic Christians, and to their existence as a heretical

* Vol. ii. p. 116.

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sect of Christians, he is perhaps right. His language, however, seems to us to imply somewhat more than this.

We are aware of the difficulty of tracing the elements of Gnosticism to their source, and the diversity of opinion among the learned on the subject. Mr. Norton, as we have seen, in common with several other writers, finds some of them in Platonism and in the prevailing philosophy, or philosophies, of the age. Undoubtedly they existed there. Some of its elements, too, were derived from the East, though Buddeus* and others ascribe to it an almost exclusively Jewish origin, and think that they find the germs of it in the writings of the Cabbalists. Neander, who is one of the latest writers on the subject, and who observes, we think correctly, that Gnosticism was not an "intermixture and joining together" merely of "elements selected out of the old systems of religion,"† but had in itself a soul, or "peculiar animating principle," makes Valentine himself, as do some others, a Jew, born in Egypt. Gnosticism he considers as founded on the "old Oriental system, to which also the Platonic joined itself, as well as the New Platonic." He adds, "it might happen that men, who were altogether devoted to some such Oriental theosophy, would constantly find themselves attracted on one side or the other by Christianity, which is calculated to lay hold on human nature from so many different sides, while yet they might be unable to conquer themselves so far as to sacrifice their former habits of thought entirely to Christianity; and hence they endeavored to form for themselves a theosophistical Christianity of their own, and a theosophic Christ of their own, after their own manner. And thus also, if the Gospel were now to make its way powerfully among the Persians, the Brahmins, and the Hindoos, it is most probable that similar phenomena would take place again; the real and genuine Christians would be accompanied by converts who would endeavor to amalgamate Suphism, Buddhism, and Brahminism with Christianity; and in fact we find traces of such an attempt here and there even now."‡

* Dissertatio de Hæresi Valent.

† History of the Christian Religion and Church, p. 241. ed. Phil. — An Egyptian birth, however, is assigned to Valentine on the authority of Epiphanius, no trust-worthy writer. Ib. p. 265.

‡ Ib. p. 240.

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To the present volumes, as to the first, published in 1837, are appended copious notes, treating of various topics of theological inquiry and criticism. We give below some remarks on the first of them.* Passing by two

* It contains a defence of Justin Martyr, who asserts that a statue was erected by the Romans, on an island in the Tiber, to Simon, the Magician, bearing the inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto.* This report passed current till 1574, when the base of a small statue was dug up on the same spot, containing the inscription *Semoni Sanco Deo*, &c., (a Sabine Deity,) — since which time Justin's account has been generally discredited. It has been supposed that he had allowed himself to be deceived. We cannot enter into the argument here. Mr. Norton's defence is an ingenious one, but we confess, it does not entirely satisfy us. That other fathers repeated the statement after Justin, is a circumstance in itself, as it seems to us, of little weight, since they were in the habit of repeating accounts after each other, without careful inquiry as to their truth. Nor does the circumstance that the report, so far as we know, stood uncontradicted by the heathen, appear of much more consequence. That the Christian Apologies were read by the Romans, there can be no doubt, but to what extent it is impossible to say. We are inclined to think not to any very great extent, and containing, as they generally did, many strange opinions and assertions and much confusion of thought, the task of minute refutation, if they were read, would not probably be often attempted. The contempt in which Christians were generally holden, strengthens this conclusion.

It is impossible to defend the fathers, and Justin among the rest, from the charge of credulity. We are aware that we must distinguish between their credibility as witnesses of facts, and their merits as critics, scholars, and theologians; between their testimony, and their opinions. Their testimony as to matters of fact and observation may be entitled to respect, though their opinions and reasonings may be entitled to very little. Whether this distinction will save Justin Martyr, may be a question. Many instances of his carelessness and credulity might be given. The story of the Septuagint version is well known. In the Hortatory Address to the Greeks usually attributed to him, (and to those who are familiar with the works acknowledged by all to be his, such an example of credulity will afford no presumption against its genuineness,) we are told that the seventy learned men, whom Ptolemy, king of Egypt, had employed to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, to enrich his recently formed library at Alexandria, were, by command of the king, shut up in so many separate cells, constructed for the purpose, on the island of Pharos, and prohibited all intercourse with each other, and that when they had accomplished their task, their versions were found to agree to a word, a circumstance which was regarded as proof that they had received divine aid. Justin, if, as generally supposed, he was the writer, as if conscious that what he had related wore a fabulous air, proceeds to fortify his statement by the following positive asseveration: "This, O Greeks, I announce to you, not as a fable, or fabricated history, for I myself, when at Alexandria, saw the vestiges of the domicils yet remaining at Pharos," and in corroboration of the truth of his narrative, he refers to the current tradition of the inhabitants, to Philo, Josephus, and "many others."* That a man so credulous, strongly tinctured, moreover,

* Just. M. Opp. Cohort. ad. Græc. p. 13. ed. Colog. 1686.

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others, on the "Clementine Homilies," and the "False Charges brought against the Heretics, particularly by the Later Fathers," which those who take an interest in the subject will find their account in consulting, we come to that, already alluded to, on the Old Testament. This, which extends to one hundred and fifty pages, forming, we may say, a treatise in itself, is remarkable for richness of material, and original and acute, but somewhat startling criticism. Its object is to present a solution of those difficulties in regard to the Old Testament, which were felt by the early Christians, catholic as well as heretical, and which still embarrass the thoughtful reader. How the Jewish dispensation and the Old Testament are to be viewed, and what relation Christianity sustains towards them, are questions of great, and we believe we may add, growing interest. Mr. Norton starts with the proposition, that the divine origin of Christianity implies the divine origin of the Jewish religion. But has Christianity "made itself responsible for the genuineness, the authenticity, or the moral and religious teachings, of that collection of books by Jewish writers, which constitutes the Old Testament?" This question, it will be readily perceived, opens a broad field of inquiry. It is a field in which many have labored, often with a very unsatisfactory result. Mr. Norton boldly enters upon it, maps it out, and sets up his land-marks, so far as he thinks the dim struggling light which gleams on the surrounding darkness allows; and where the thick shadows of antiquity render further advance impossible, he pauses and honestly tells us that he can "no further go." He writes with entire seriousness, under a deep conviction of the worth of religion, and with a full belief that the Jewish religion "proceeded immediately from God." Whatever may be thought of some of his conclusions, no one who attentively reads, will have cause to complain that his religious feelings have been wantonly attacked, or outraged

with a love of the marvellous, should have been guilty of the blunder of which he is accused, about the statue, to us appears matter of no surprise. Besides, Justin nowhere asserts that he had himself seen the statue. Yet with Mr. Norton's general estimate of the character of the fathers given at the conclusion of the note, we have no fault to find. We believe it sufficiently just.

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by flippant remark or sarcasm. If some objects are presented under aspects which may appear to him new or strange, he will find the reasons given, which he can weigh and judge of for himself. Our limits will not allow us to go into any critical examination of Mr. Norton's views, or of the arguments adduced in their support. We can only trace his general course of remark, and intimate some of the most important of the conclusions at which he arrives.

We pass over his preliminary remarks, and what he says of the evidences and the design of the Jewish dispensation. He considers it, as before observed, as of divine origin, and as designed chiefly as a ground-work, or preparation for Christianity. Having done with these topics, he proceeds to discuss the historical evidence, direct and indirect, of the authorship of the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, as they are usually called, and chronological and other difficulties are noticed. He very carefully distinguishes between the "Law" of Moses, or code ascribed to him, and the books which contain a record of that Law, and which by the later Jews only, as he says, were attributed to Moses as the author. The argument used by some, to prove that Moses gave the Levitical Law, or law of rites and ceremonies, — that is, that from the time of Moses this law was regarded by the Jews as their national law, — is of no value, he says, since it assumes what cannot be proved; for, in truth, the observance of the ritual law cannot be traced back historically beyond, at least, the time of David or Solomon. This point Mr. Norton argues at some length, and then proceeds to some more general considerations concerning the authorship of the books in question. He finds, as he states, great uncertainty in the early Jewish history and chronology, seriously affecting the question of the time when Moses lived; he comments on the "vocabulary and style" of the Pentateuch, and compares them with what, he is confident, must have been the vocabulary and style of Moses; he takes notice of the passages which occur in it relating to events subsequent to the death of Moses; and the silence of the books themselves, which compose the collection, in regard to the writer or writers of them. He then discusses the internal character of the Pentateuch, the views it presents of the Divine Being, and the credibility of several narratives it contains, particularly relating to the

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number of the Israelites who are represented as coming out of Egypt; their sojourn in the wilderness; the accounts of their wealth; and their occupation of Palestine. The miraculous parts of their history are not overlooked, though the accounts of particular miracles are not, with one or two exceptions, critically examined. Mr. Norton, however, admits that some miracles may have been wrought subsequently to the time of Moses.

We next come to a topic of deep interest, and one which to many, at least, will be novel, — the "Views of religion presented in the writings of the Jewish prophets, and in the Psalms, compared with those found in the Pentateuch." Mr. Norton has before noticed what he regards as a very remarkable fact, that the Jewish prophets, the public teachers of religion among the Jews, do not appeal to its authority. He now contrasts their teaching with the language of the Pentateuch. After observing that "the religion inculcated in the Pentateuch consists very much in rites, and especially in offerings and sacrifices," that "the precepts concerning rites are multiplied, reiterated, and enforced in the most solemn manner," he says: "But by the prophets *before the captivity* such observances are spoken of in the most disparaging terms." We have not room for his illustrations. Some of them the reader will readily call to mind in those passages of the earlier prophets, and the Psalms, in which the worthlessness of burnt-offerings and sacrifices is spoken of, one of which concludes thus:

> "For I spake not to your fathers,
> Nor commanded them, in the day when I brought them
> out of Egypt,
> Concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices.
> But this did I command them, saying,
> Obey my voice, and I will be your God,
> And ye shall be my people."

The conclusion to which Mr. Norton arrives, after a comparison of such passages with the Levitical law, we will give in his own words. "There are, then, two very different aspects under which the religion of Moses appears. One is that presented in the ritual law; the other is that which is found in portions of the Pentateuch, in the higher

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class of writers of the Old Testament, who, as we have reason to believe, lived before the belief prevailed, that the ritual law came from God, and even in the higher class of Jewish writers of after-times. The spirit of the Jewish religion, as represented by them, is coincident with the spirit of the religion of Christ."* The inference drawn is, that they did not believe in the divine origin of the ritual law. There is a difficulty, as it seems to us, in drawing so sharp a line of distinction between the Levitical law, or law of rites and ceremonies, and other parts of the law, or code ascribed to Moses, attributing to one a divine or Mosaic origin, and denying it to the other. To us the ritual and moral or preceptive parts of the law appear so intimately blended, that any such line must be in a measure arbitrary.

The section on the "Inferences respecting the Levitical Law and the Pentateuch, to be drawn from the teachings and actions of our Saviour," is marked by Mr. Norton's peculiar power of subtile analysis, and original and comprehensive, but somewhat startling criticism. We do not feel compelled to draw from the language and actions of Jesus the inferences, at least in all their breadth, which Mr. Norton has presented on this subject. But the argument is not of a nature to be readily abridged, and the length to which our article is extending itself warns us that what more we have to say, we must say in few words.

The note concludes with brief remarks on the other books of the Old Testament, besides the Pentateuch, followed by some very serious reflections on the difficulties which embarrass our inquiries on the subject of religion, and on the inestimable worth of Christianity, on which, "as a miraculous revelation, religion must rest as its principal and only safe support." Erroneous views of the Old Testament have proved injurious to Christianity, and it must be disencumbered of them, before it can occupy its true place in human belief, or exert its full influence in the world. In his attempt to remove the difficulties alluded to, Mr. Norton, as the above remarks show, cuts deep, many will say, too deep. Yet he plants himself, as we have seen, on the great fact that God made a direct revelation of his will

* Vol. ii. Additional Notes, p. 148.

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through Moses; and this fact saved, the rest may be regarded as in comparison of little consequence, for this is the only fact connected with the Jewish religion, in the fate of which the Divine origin of Christianity can be properly said to be involved.

One further remark we may offer. Mr. Norton's views of the Old Testament are, we believe, of a character to be readily comprehended by those who are willing to bestow thought upon them, for he always writes clearly and with remarkable precision, and never encumbers his argument with useless learning or metaphysics. Yet it is undoubtedly true, in the present case, that some familiarity with the subject, and we may add, the ability or habit of calm discriminating reflection, are necessary to the full appreciation of those views and the argument brought to their support. But whoever writes as cautiously as Mr. Norton, who offers no remark which has not been well considered, who matures his thoughts by years of patient study and meditation, has a right certainly to expect on the part of his readers that degree of attention and patience, which will prevent any serious misconception of his meaning, or any misapplication of his principles. The following remark, which occurs near the beginning of the note under consideration, appears to us to be equally modest and just; and it shows the deep feeling of responsibility under which he publishes his opinions. "It seems to me," he says, "a weighty offence against society, to advance and maintain opinions on any important subject, especially any subject connected with religion, without carefully weighing them, and without feeling assured, as far as may be, that we shall find no reason to change our belief." He proceeds to say, that the substance of what is here presented on the Old Testament was written more than ten years ago, (in the summer of 1831,) and that he has not since found occasion to make any essential change in his opinions. It may be readily foreseen that this dissertation, as we may term it, on the Old Testament will be the part of his work which will be subjected to the severest criticism, but such a confession as that just quoted should secure it, at least, from being made the subject of crude remark, or flippant abuse.

Of the notes to the third volume we have not spoken, nor can we, at present, speak, any further than to mention

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the subjects of them, — which are Plato's distinction between things intelligible, and things sensible; the use among the ancients of the terms, spiritual, and material, and the nature of matter; Basilides and his followers; the Gospel of Marcion; and the original meaning, as used by the ancient heathen philosophers, of the words rendered God, or Gods, in our language. The last named subject is one of some importance to the right understanding of the early Christian, as well as the ancient heathen, writings.

We thus close Mr. Norton's volumes on the Historical Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, direct and indirect, a work begun nearly twenty-five years ago, with the belief, as he tells us in the preface to his first volume, that it might be accomplished in six months. But the subject opened upon him as he proceeded, disclosing new and unexpected relations, which have conducted him over a wide field of speculation and inquiry. That he has accomplished his task most thoroughly, none will deny. The argument has never before been presented with anything like that completeness which it assumes under his pen. In his copious notes he has given a great deal of matter which may be considered as, in some sort, extraneous to his main subject, but which possesses great value, and would be enough to found the reputation of eminent theological attainments for any other man.

The work he has prescribed to himself, however, is not yet done. The public, and those especially who take an interest in theological studies, or who would gather around themselves all the evidences of the Christian faith, which deep thought and extensive learning can furnish, will receive with pleasure the annunciation, that should his "life and health be continued," it is his purpose to add another volume on the Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, together with a new translation of them, accompanied with explanatory notes, a subject, he tells his readers, on which he has been "long engaged." We should rejoice to learn, that he contemplates performing the same office for the remaining portion of the New Testament. A bare translation of the Epistles, executed with the learning and accuracy for which Mr. Norton is distinguished, would throw new light upon them.

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Art. II. — LOWELL'S POEMS.*

Mr. Lowell has been a remarkably fortunate man. He has now made his second appearance as the author of a volume of Poems, and has a second time received a hearty welcome. He may be fairly considered as having enrolled his name on the list of our poets, and a high station among them, as we believe, will be his due. Few young men, appearing before the public heralded only by their own merits, have won, or have deserved a place so high as that which has already been reached by him. Previously to the publication of "A Year's Life," Mr. Lowell was unknown to fame, and his reputation as a poet had hardly extended throughout the narrow circle of a young man's personal friends. Encouraged doubtless by the favorable reception of his first publication, he has continued to labor in the flowery field of poesy, and a second volume contains the culled fruit of his exertions. Of this volume we propose briefly to speak, because we believe the work and its author are alike deserving of attention.

It is a comfort in this working-day-world of ours, to meet an earnest, loving man, who lives in an untiring aspiration after the beautiful and the true. It is a privilege to walk hand in hand with him over the paths which his gentle spirit has chosen and adorned; it is a friendly duty to interpose a warning voice between him and his errors. No criticism is cruel which is based on sympathizing regard; no criticism is valuable which is blind to every fault. Mr. Lowell, as we verily believe, has been more injured by injudicious flattery than by any unkind severity; he has been hailed as a poet of high promise, and admiration for his early excellence has overlooked the claim for future improvement. This should not be. Too much has been already promised to allow any rest in the onward course; our hopes have been raised too high to bear with equanimity any disappointment. That Mr. Lowell has evinced much progress, we most gladly declare; but we would not the less insist on that further advancement of

* *Poems* by James Russell Lowell, Cambridge: John Owen. 1844. 12mo. pp. 279.

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which we believe him capable, and would not the more refrain from pointing out the blemishes which his artist-hand can hereafter avoid. We say his *artist-hand*, for it is in his execution in words of his poetic ideal that his faults mainly exist. His words are at times sadly unequal to his thought, and in his striving for an expression of the fanciful and the vast, he is sometimes vague and dreamy, and not unfrequently confused and extravagant.

Love, the purified passion which unites two glowing hearts, was the key-note of Mr. Lowell's earlier melodies. Love, in a higher and a holier sense, as the consciousness of universal human brotherhood, and the manifestation of sympathy with all mankind, is the spirit which inspires much of his later song. But this fact he himself best expresses, when he says:—

> "Less of that feeling, which the world calls love,
> Thou findest in my verse, but haply more
> Of a more precious virtue, born of that,
> The love of God, of Freedom, and of Man." — p. 270.

"A Legend of Brittany," "Miscellaneous Poems," "Thirty-seven Sonnets," and "L'Envoi," make up the volume before us. Of these the "Legend of Brittany" is the first and longest production, consisting of a poem in two parts, in "octave" stanza. We are not disposed to dwell upon it, since we do not deem it fitted to display either the merits or the faults of our author. It is a tale of a Templar, and his illicit love, with its disastrous consequences, and their supernatural exposure. The description of the fair Margaret, her beauty, her love of nature, and her innocence, is well sustained and replete with pleasant images. She was,

> "A simple herdsman's child,
> A lily chance-sown in the rugged wild;"

but withered by the breath of lust, she fell the victim of her own loveliness, and sunk in misery and shame. An old, sad tale. We would not rest our author's fame on this so common-place performance. Were this his only work, he would offer no claim to a notice here; he would occupy no lofty place in the ranks of the sons of song.

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"Prometheus," a poem in blank verse, depicts the gentle resistance of intellect to the control of physical force. Jupiter and Prometheus are the representatives, the one of strength to inflict, the other of love and conscious intelligence, to endure. The contrast is sustained throughout the piece, which, however, is somewhat unnecessarily extended. The closing stanzas are among the best; sound in theory, simple and bold in expression, of healthful and ennobling influence. Thus they read:—

"Good never comes unmixed, or so it seems,
Having two faces, as some images
Are carved, of foolish gods; one face is ill;
But one heart lies beneath, and that is good,
As are all hearts, when we explore their depths.
Therefore, great heart, bear up! thou art but type
Of what all lofty spirits endure, that fain
Would win men back to strength and peace through love;
Each hath his lonely peak, and on each heart
Envy, or scorn, or hatred, tears lifelong
With vulture beak; yet the high soul is left;
And faith, which is but hope grown wise; and love;
And patience, which at last shall overcome. — pp. 83, 84.

We give the following as the last and the redeeming stanza of a number of extravagant and fantastic verses to "The Fountain." It is good, and worth more than all the rest of the piece:—

"Glorious fountain!
Let my heart be
Fresh, changeful, constant,
Upward, like thee!" — p. 100.

Fountains are somewhat fatal to our author: let him commence upon one, and his verse is as wild and ungoverned as their own wind-tost spray; not always, we grieve to say, as graceful and full of beauty. The voice of "Perdita, Singing,"

"Is like a fountain,
Leaping up in clear moonshine;
Silver, silver, ever mounting,
Ever sinking,
Without thinking,
To that brimful heart of thine." — p. 151.

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And again;

"Thy voice is like a fountain
Leaping up in sunshine bright,
And I never weary counting
Its clear droppings, lone and single,
Or when in one full gush they mingle,
Shooting in melodious light." — p. 152.

Now what is meant by the "voice without thinking?" Can it be anything better than a mere rhyme? And how do the "droppings" shoot "in melodious light?" Nor have we told all that is fantastic and euphuistic in this little poem. Let the following speak for itself, as it says, —

"A dim, sweet, twilight voice it is,
Where to-day's accustomed blue
Is over-grayed with memories,
With starry feelings quivered through," — p. 152.

and answer then, reader, is this involved and intricate metaphor worth the trouble which is necessary to study out its meaning?

Poor Perdita! how she must suffer from ophthalmia; for, says our poet,

"Peace sits within thine eyes,
With white hands crossed in joyful rest."

And very soon she has wings too, and all this in Perdita's eyes, in which she begins singing. But we have not done with fountains yet, for soon,

No spot of dark the fountain keepeth,
But, swift as opening eyelids, leapeth
Into a waving silver flower!" — p. 155.

With all our regard for Mr. Lowell, we must say that much of this poem, "To Perdita, Singing," it is on the verge of nonsense, and our readers will perhaps deem us lenient judges in that we do not decide it to be fairly engulphed therein. We shall have occasion to point out one or more similar performances.

"The Shepherd of King Admetus" is a ballad expressing the development and influence of the Poet, and is worthy of its subject: —

"His words were simple words enough,
And yet he used them so,
That what in other mouths was rough,
In his seemed musical and low."

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"And day by day more holy grew
Each spot where he had trod,
Till after poets only knew
Their first-born brother as a god." — pp. 107–8.

But a higher delineation of the poet is to be found in the "Ode," (pp. 156 to 164,) which first appeared in the sheets of a periodical, and which, transferred to the present volume, is its brightest ornament. Were this the only poem on which Mr. Lowell could rest his claim to fame, we would yet gladly yield to him the laurel. It is high, holy and prophetic — the true outpouring of a true poet's heart, saddened with the abuses and the lethargies of men, but glowing with the emotions of hope and faith and love. It is a noble effort of a noble mind — worthy its subject, and itself the best support of the hope of improvement which it offers. We will not despair for humanity, when its wants and claims can be so bravely stated, and so sweetly sung. We will not despair of a poet, when his qualifications are so thoroughly appreciated by one himself an aspirant for his high fame.

There is a sweet little love song, "Oh, Moonlight deep and tender," which we recommend to all and sundry. It is pure and heartfelt, without pretence or extravagance.

Had we space, we would willingly copy out "The Heritage," which is as wide in its philanthropy as it is beautiful in expression and correct in theory. We love the man who shows so wide a love, and we respect the man who so respects his brethren of the human race.

The Poem on "Silence," good in matter, is deformed by a foppishness of manner, which we can only bitterly regret and vehemently complain of in one who should be, as he well can be, above such little devices. We have undertaken to point out some approaches to nonsense, and we have in this production instances at hand.

"When the heart is bare of gladness,
And the helpless sense of ill
Goads the apathy of sadness
Onward through a whirl of madness,
To a darkness drear and chill, —
Then the palsied tongue is still.

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"When the soul for power sigheth,
Struggling for Art's fuller skill,
And the prophet-heart o'erflieth
All the agony that trieth,
All the tear-drops it must spill, —
Then the tranced tongue is still." — pp. 213–14.

We cannot resist the association of the above with the "Drury's Dirge," by Laura Matilda in the "Rejected Addresses," and must confess that the latter does not suffer in the comparison. And yet this poem of "Silence" has within it the germ of much good. It is high in thought, and it is true. We have little patience to see beautiful ideas bound down in these foolish affectations of speech.

Of the poem called "Fantasy" we can say but little good. It is indeed melodious, but extravagant and silly. We think its author will ere long be so far ashamed of it as to regret that it is to be seen in print.

We might offer numerous verbal criticisms, but the task is a thankless one, and we do not find pleasure in its execution. A little attention, and a more severe examination of his poems on the part of our author, will prevent such blemishes as those to which we now allude.

The use of the word *tide* as a verb, in the sense of *flow as a tide*, is a favorite expression, and a bad one. The lines,

"Tided to o'erflowing," — p 102,

and

"Into the poet's gulf-like heart doth tide," — p. 251,

are instances in point.

In the poem on "Midnight," "fire-flies" and "the snow of deepest silence" appear on the same night. We confess that we are at a loss on which horn of the dilemma to impale this latter line. If it is figurative, it is very much overdrawn; if it is a simple statement, the two stanzas become very incongruous.

In a "Reverie" we have as follows: —

"How my spirit, like an ocean,
At the breath of thine awakes,
Leaps its shores in mad exulting,
And in foamy music breaks." — p. 146.

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We forbear to criticise the confusion of metaphor (the breath of a spirit,) but we must protest against the jockey-like language of the third line. Horse-racers talk of leaping a five-barred gate; scholars understand that they mean leaping *over* it.

In reference to the "Shepherd of King Admetus",—

"Some
Muttered of fagots for a witch." — p. 106.

Now if he was Satan's especial servant, he was not a *witch*, but a *wizard;* but this last will not rhyme with *rich*, and hence an inaccuracy of expression which Mr. Lowell should have avoided. The word *core* seems convenient for rhyming: — witness, pp. 12, 34, 35, 246, 259. Mr. Lowell should do better than pen such lines as that in Sonnet XXIX, in which this word occurs:—

"A severer power,
That widens down the soul's unfathomed core!"

But enough of this. We suggest the faults because we know how easily they can be remedied; and remedied, or in future avoided, we hope and believe they will be.

We have marked in admiration several pieces, to which we can only advert. "A Dirge," "A Requiem," "A Parable," "Love," "The Forlorn," are all of them among the treasures which this little volume contains. We commend them all, and gratefully acknowledge our debt of enjoyment to their author.

Of the "Sonnets" we shall speak but briefly, since to us they afford but a small part of the value of the volume. Very good a few of them are, well enough are most of them. That marked No. I. is well placed; we deem it among the best of the whole number. XV, "To the Spirit of Keats," seems to us labored and unsatisfactory; we could almost venture to assert that the author had not accomplished his purpose when he had completed the prescribed fourteen lines; that he had striven in vain to crowd vast thoughts into this narrow compass. We surely cannot wonder that it should be so; we only question the expediency of making public these "young poet's agonies," which are neither delectable nor instructive. XXVII is a Love Sonnet, and very pretty. XXXVI, a Sonnet on the

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author's Twenty-fourth Birth-day, is bold and clear in its tone, and high in its faith; we rank it among the few, and characterize it as very good; and with it we take leave of this part of our work:—

"Now have I quite passed by that cloudy If
That darkened the wild hope of boyish days,
When first I launched my slender-sided skiff
Upon the wide sea's dim, unsounded ways;
Now doth Love's sun my soul with splendor fill,
And Hope hath struggled upward into Power,
Soft Wish is hardened into sinewy Will,
And Longing into Certainty doth tower;
The love of Beauty knoweth no despair;
My heart would break, if I should dare to doubt,
That from the Wrong, which makes its dragon's lair
Here on the earth, fair Truth shall wander out,
Teaching mankind, that Freedom's held in fee
Only by those who labor to set free." — p. 266.

"L'Envoi, to M. W.," is a statement of the author's view of his vocation, with a heartfelt acknowledgment of the influence of love in shaping his views of life, and poetry. It is sincere and manly in style, elevated and noble in sentiment. It breathes the spirit of wide philanthrophy, and unwavering and joyous trust in God's guidance for everlasting good. We look upon it as a high moral teaching, and welcome it as a lesson to be cherished and made practical; we rejoice to find so lofty and holy an aim placed before us:—

"The freedom and divinity of man,
The glorious chain of human brotherhood."

As we may seem to have been somewhat anxious to set forth the blemishes — chiefly, however, let it be observed, in the style of expression — which disfigure this volume, we copy the opening lines of this piece, not as being better than many other passages, but as they bring us into pleasant acquaintance with the writer's personal feelings. They breathe a true and healthful tone of sentiment:—

"Whether my heart hath wiser grown or not,
In these three years, since I to thee inscribed,
Mine own betrothed, the firstlings of my muse, —
Poor windfalls of unripe experience,
Young buds plucked hastily by childish hands

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Not patient to await more full-blown flowers, —
At least it hath seen more of life and men,
And pondered more, and grown a shade more sad;
Yet with no loss of hope or settled trust
In the benignness of that Providence,
Which shapes from out our elements awry
The grace and order that we wonder at,
The mystic harmony of right and wrong,
Both working out His wisdom and our good:
A trust, Beloved, chiefly learned of thee,
Who hast that gift of patient tenderness,
The instinctive wisdom of a woman's heart,
Which, seeing Right, can yet forgive the Wrong,
And, strong itself to comfort and sustain,
Yet leans with full-confiding piety
On the great Spirit that encircles all." — pp. 269–70.

A warm and hearty sympathy with humanity is a characteristic of the volume before us. A yearning love for man, and a burning desire to elevate and purify his soul, which, however debased and uncultivated, is yet to our poet never unworthy of regard, are the highest inspirations of his muse. We love him for his own wide love. As a brother does he come before us to plead a brother's cause. Let him not sing to deaf or to averted ears. Let not his true, warm heart be chilled by neglect, or saddened by misappreciation. The most affectionate are also the most sensitive spirits. The love which would embrace all the human brotherhood, shall it encounter only cold looks, and shine forth only amid the darkness of distrust?

With Mr. Lowell it has not been so. An early effort was kindly encouraged, and a work of progress has already been the reward of the world's consideration. We trust that this consideration and kindness will yet more abound, — that the poet's heart may be cheered by that highest satisfaction, the assurance that the fervor of his own inspiration has kindled a fire which shall warm into a genial glow the cold heart of worldliness and unbelief. And let not the poet himself falter, or swerve in his course. True to himself, let him strive for his ideal, and in his life let his holy inspirations be embodied, till that noblest epic, a soul's strife with sense and selfishness and sin, shall be written by him in his deeds of earth, and fit him for the progress of heaven.

W. A. D.

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ART. III. — MARTINEAU'S DISCOURSES.*

THE Unitarians have had more eminent preachers, in proportion to their numbers, than any other sect. This is owing partly to the greater attention paid by them, as a body, to intellectual culture, and partly to the greater freedom and scope allowed them in the choice and treatment of their subjects. The consequence has been, that among them native force and originality, where these existed, have commonly been regulated by good taste, without being restrained or shackled by the artificial conventionalities of the pulpit. We might gather as much as this from the language of unfriendly critics, in speaking of the preaching of such men. They will allow that it was an "eloquent oration," or "an ingenious argument," as the case may be, "but no *sermon*." Why not? Unquestionably there are proprieties of the pulpit, as to both matter and manner, which are never to be disregarded; but these have nothing to do with the stiffness and formality sometimes expected in the homily, and which have done so much to bring a bad name on this species of composition, and reduce the discourses of preachers of very different endowments to the same level — not to say, the same *dead* level. The best minds among the Unitarians have broken away, more generally and more entirely than those of other denominations, from this arbitrary restraint.

But while there have been so many eminent Unitarian preachers, an impression prevails that Unitarian preaching, as such, is deficient in interest and efficacy, at least for the multitude. And there are some considerations which will account for this deficiency where it really exists, and also for its being supposed to exist even where it does not.

The preacher sustains a twofold relation to his congregation. He is their religious teacher, and in this capacity his office is to act on their ideas, to enlarge and clear up their views of God and the human soul. At the same time he is the leader of their devotions, and in this capacity

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* *Endeavors after the Christian Life. A Volume of Discourses.* By JAMES MARTINEAU. London: J. Green. 1843. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 291.

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his office is to act on their sensibilities, to move and direct their emotions and aspirations. He should be faithful in both capacities. Still, more is actually done for a people by acting on their moral and religious *ideas*, by correcting and elevating their practical *principles*, than by acting on their sensibilities alone, or by any scheme of mere agitation, however successful. In the former case the change produced is profound and organic; in the latter it is superficial; yet for the very reason that it is superficial, it is so much the more immediate and obvious. The influence of Augustine on the destinies of the church was a thousand fold greater than that of Peter the Hermit; but he did not make a thousandth part so much noise in his day. And so in later times. The influence of Butler in England, and of Jonathan Edwards in this country, consisted mainly in working a change in men's ideas. Neither was run after like Whitefield, while living; yet who believes that Whitefield has left so deep and enduring an impression on the mind of the religious world? The Unitarian movement has been of the first mentioned description. It has been chiefly felt, or at least it was so in the beginning, in the kingdom of ideas. It set men to thinking. Primarily, at least, its mission was to enlighten rather than to excite; its early preachers had this especially in view; the times required it; and if any are disposed to undervalue such labors, it must be because they do not make the distinction insisted on above.

But the times have changed in some respects, calling for a correspondent change in the style of preaching, at least, in the old congregations. Unitarianism, like other reforms, began, and could not but begin, with protesting against prevailing errors; but the eloquence of mere protest is necessarily short-lived. Having sifted the truth from the error, the next thing to be done is to give efficacy to the truth; and, in doing this, it must be confessed that Unitarians have labored, and still labor under some peculiar disadvantages.

Theirs was, for the most part, a protest against extravagance and excess. It was not, like Methodism, a protest against the *too little*, but against the *too much*. As a natural consequence, their preaching became distinguished by a tone of moderation and good sense, and by the stress

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laid on the common and every-day virtues, little notice being taken of zeal, religious sympathy, and moral enthusiasm, except as it gave occasion to warn men against extremes. This satisfied those who had experienced the evils of the opposite course, and who had been drawn to Unitarianism chiefly through the predominance of the rationalistic over the impulsive tendencies of their nature. But in process of time another generation arose, who had experienced none of these evils, who could not see in the general aspects of society that men were in imminent danger of becoming "righteous overmuch," and who had the common proportion of what is called sentiment in their constitution, and therefore craved and needed a more earnest and hearty ministration of the Christian doctrine. Hence our condition at present. New wants have arisen, and how are they to be met?

One way which would be likely to occur to some minds is, to imitate other denominations; to recall as many as possible of the old terms and phrases, to resort to the same or similar modes of appeal, and to copy generally what may be called the popular machinery of influence. This we suppose to be done, not because it is felt to be true, or to grow spontaneously out of what is true, but because it is seen to be effective in other hands. Thus understood, we presume that, on second thoughts, the course will find few advocates, if any; so that we need not waste many words upon it. It is a sufficient objection, that we cannot divest ourselves of a feeling of moral repugnance to a policy which does not carry on the face of it entire sincerity, and singleness of purpose. Besides, it would be attempting to create in one body the life that properly belongs to another; from which the best that could be expected is, that Unitarianism might be made *almost* as good as Orthodoxy.

Setting aside all such worldly-wise expedients, we come at once to the conclusion that the only proper way is that which the Unitarian preacher is everywhere adopting. He must fall back on the great central truths of the Gospel, the vital principles of Christianity as he understands it, and after having entered into their full significancy, after having become inspired, as it were, with the revelation they contain, he must set them forth, not in the questioning and critical spirit which was required in another state of things,

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but in the believing and earnest spirit which is required now. In all this there must not be the shadow of simulation, no overstating for effect, no *making-believe* for example's sake, or for the sake of "the weaker brethren," no temporizing reserves, no consulting with flesh and blood: he must put unlimited confidence in the power of truth, as truth, — the simple, awful truth. The spiritual world, just as it is, the laws of that world, just as they are, and the consequences of violating them, just as they are found to be, he must state and insist upon, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear. Moreover, in doing this there must be no wish to deny, or to conceal, or to sink, or in any way to compromise his distinctive peculiarities as a Unitarian. Let it be remembered that no sect has a right to exist, as such, except by virtue of the supposed importance of its distinctive peculiarities; nay, that it cannot be said really to exist as such, any further than it is faithful to these peculiarities. After all that has been said about the many particular doctrines held in common by all sects, it will not be denied that Unitarian Christianity, taken as a whole, wears a different complexion from Calvinism, for example; breathes a different spirit; has, so to speak, a different genius. To this genius its preachers must be true in their practical and devotional, as well as their doctrinal discourses; all their modes of influence must not only be consistent with it, but grow naturally and spontaneously out of it, and be qualified and limited by it: and if by pursuing this course they are obliged to forego some means of easy and ready persuasion possessed by other denominations, they may be sure that the loss will be more than made up to them, in the end, by the entire accordance of what they say with the advanced state of science and the practical good sense of the people, and by the air of sincerity and reality which this circumstance will give to their exhortations.

The difficulties of the present position of the Unitarian preachers do not end here. Our views of the Christian character are affected quite as much by our philosophy of life itself, as by our interpretation of Scripture, or our theological differences, properly so called. Modern Unitarianism sprang up in this country among the Arminians and moderate Calvinists, a large majority of whom, so far as

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they had a definite philosophy of any sort, held to that of Locke, which to its great and acknowledged excellencies in other respects does not add that of being eminently spiritual. In England it was worse. There Dr. Priestley, through his activity, and great personal ascendancy so nobly won, succeeded in impressing the denomination very generally with his peculiar metaphysics, as well as his peculiar theology; in consequence of which they became committed to a great extent, if not as a body, in favor of the doctrines of necessity, materialism, and utilitarianism. What influence these doctrines had on their practical expositions of Christianity, and especially of its more sublime and spiritual inculcations, may be seen in Dr. Priestley's "Doctrine of Divine Influences," and Mr. Belsham's "Review of Wilberforce." An undue and too exclusive stress was laid on the outward and the purely historical; a morbid jealousy, not called for in the circumstances, was manifested for everything which looked like mysticism or mystery; and worse still, a slighting and sometimes scornful tone was assumed in speaking of the higher forms of religious experience. We are aware that these remarks require to be largely qualified. Some of Dr. Priestley's sermons are among the best in the language; the tendencies of an unspiritual philosophy are often counteracted or neutralized by previously acquired tastes, or an evangelic cast of mind; and besides, wisdom and tried worth always command attention and respect, even though they fail to satisfy us entirely. Still a want was felt; the people, after the preacher had done, were tempted to ask, "Is this all?" and those especially who had just been awakened on the subject of religion, and were full of fears and anxieties, were conscious of spiritual needs which such preaching did not recognize, and could not supply.

This was a defect, however, be it observed, not found in Unitarianism, but in the philosophy with which it was for a time connected; accordingly in the same proportion as Unitarian preachers have attained to a higher and more spiritual philosophy, the defect has disappeared. Twenty-five years ago it was the fashion, at least with the young ministers, even in this country, to follow Priestley in his controversy with Price on philosophical questions: now we hardly know one who would take that side. Meanwhile

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the English Unitarians have been passing through a like change, if we may judge from the altered tone of many of their publications, and especially from the tenor of some very able and eloquent papers which have appeared in "*The Christian Teacher.*" As a natural consequence, we find it to be a subject of frequent remark, that Unitarian preaching is everywhere becoming more serious, more evangelic, more spiritual, more soul-stirring. Indeed, in the opinion of some, the danger now is, that the re-action will go too far; that the good sense, and practical wisdom, and healthy moral tone, which have so long and so honorably distinguished the Unitarian pulpit, will be lost in a flippant sentimentalism, or in a dreamy and impracticable mysticism, or in transcendental flights, no one knows whither. Undoubtedly a danger of this sort is incident to all re-actions; in some they will go too far, and in others this tendency is only to be controlled and restrained by the exercise of a sober judgment, and by meek submission to that authority to which all Christians bow. These changes, however, even when they become excessive, as they originate in a real want, must not be resisted indiscriminately; but we must distinguish the good in them from the evil, that the former may be disengaged and retained, while the latter is left to die of itself.

We have been led into this train of remark by the perusal of the volume of discourses now lying before us, which strikingly illustrates many of the preceding observations, and shows that the author's mind has not been inaccessible to the great philosophical movement which is now going on. For some time Mr. Martineau has been favorably known in this country, as well as at home, by several occasional discourses, by his "Rationale of Religious Enquiry," by his part so ably executed in the Liverpool Controversy, and more recently by his Introductory Lecture on taking the chair of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in Manchester New College, and the admirable syllabus of his course appended thereto. Highly as we appreciate his gifts and his spirit, we cannot shut our eyes on certain qualities of his style, which will probably limit the popularity and usefulness of his writings. Among these we might mention particularly a profusion and elaborateness of metaphor; long and unwieldy sentences, the difficulty of following

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being heightened in some instances by an unsteady holding of the idea, or a touch of mysticism; and, we may add, an intensity which does not always seem to be natural, or to be called for by the thought: in a word, for published discourses at least, too much rhetoric, too little repose. But what are these when weighed against his great and varied excellencies; — excellencies, which convince us that in a work suited to his genius, and tasking all his powers, he would evince a union of the fancy of the poet, the fire of the orator, and the comprehension and clear and deep insight of the philosopher, such as is hardly to be met with in any other living writer.

As the work under review has been re-printed here, and is likely to be in the hands of most of our readers, we do not feel at liberty to transfer many passages to our pages.

We take the following from the discourse on "Eden and Gethsemane."

"Heaven and God are best discerned through tears; scarcely perhaps discerned at all without them. I do not mean that a man must be outwardly afflicted, and lose his comforts or his friends, before he can become devout. Many a Christian maintains the truest heart of piety without such dispensations; and more alas! remain as hard and cold as ever in spite of them. That there is felt to be a general tendency, however, in the blow of calamity and the sense of loss, to awaken the latent thought of God and persuade us to seek his refuge, the current language of devotion in every age, the constant association of prayer with the hour of bereavement and the scenes of death, suffice to show. Yet is this effect of external distress only a particular instance of a general truth, viz., that religion springs up in the mind, *wherever any of the infinite affections and desires press severely against the finite conditions of our existence.* In ill-disciplined and contracted souls this sorrowful condition is never fulfilled, except when some much-loved blessing is forcibly snatched away, and their human attachment (which is infinite) is surprised (though knowing it well before) at the violence of death, knocks with vain cries at the cruel barriers of our humanity, and is answered by the voice of mystery from beyond. But such was not the sorrow with which Christ was stricken; nor is such the only sorrow with which good and faithful minds are affected. There are many immeasurable affections of our nature, besides that which makes our kindred dear: — the yearning for truth, the delight in beauty, the veneration for excellence, the high ambition of conscience ever pressing forward yet unable to

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attain, — these also live within us, and strive unceasingly in noble hearts; and there is an inner and a viewless sorrow, a spontaneous weeping of these infinite desires, whence the highest order of faith and devotion will be found to spring; so much so, that no one can even think of Christ, visibly social and cheerful as he was, without the belief of a secret sadness, that might be overheard in his solitary prayers. Those who make the end of existence to consist of happiness, may try to conceal so perplexing a fact, and may draw pictures of the exceeding pleasantness of religion; but human nature, trained in the school of Christianity, throws away as false the delineation of piety in the disguise of Hebe, and declares that there is something higher far than happiness; that thought, which is ever full of care and trouble, is better far; that all true and disinterested affection, which often is called to mourn, is better still; that the devoted allegiance of conscience to duty and to God, which ever has in it more of penitence than of joy, is noblest of all." — pp. 46, 47.

The ninth and tenth discourses on "The Kingdom of God within us," are among the best. Hear what he says of sudden transformations of character.

"I have spoken of the *sudden* change of mind effected by a newly-opened faith. In the primitive Christian doctrine such change plainly seems to have been recognized as possible. And in spite of all that philosophers have written, with some truth but not the whole truth, respecting the power of habit, and the slow and severe pace of moral improvement and recovery, and the impossibility of abrupt conversion, I believe there is a profound reality in the opposite and popular belief (as indeed there must be in all popular beliefs respecting matters of mental experience). It is quite true that instantaneous regeneration of the mind is not a phenomenon of the commoner sort, especially in the present day; but it is also true, that of all the remarkable moral recoveries that occur, (alas! too few at best,) almost the whole are of this kind. It is quite true that the upward efforts of the will, when it exchanges the madness of passion for the perceptions of reason, are toilsome, and if successful, tardy; and if all transformations of conscience were of the deliberate and reasonable sort, philosophers could not say too much about their infrequency and slowness. But the process springs from a higher and more powerful source; the persuasion is conducted by some new and intense affection, some fresh and vivid reverence, followed, not led, by the conscience and reason. The weeds are not painfully plucked up by the cautious hand of tillage reckoning on its fruits, but burnt out by the blaze of a

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divine shame and love. It is quite true that such a change cannot be expected, — that to calculate on it is inexpressibly perilous; for the deeper movements of the soul shrink back from our computations, refuse to be made the tools of our prudence, and insist on coming unobserved or coming never; and he that reckons on them sends them into banishment, and only shows that they are and must be strangers to his barren heart. It is quite true that self-cure is of all things the most arduous; but that which is impossible *to the man within us*, may be altogether possible *to the God*. In truth, the denial of such changes, under the affectation of great knowledge of man, shows an incredible ignorance of men. Why, the history of every great religious revolution, such as the spread of Methodism, is made up of nothing else; the instances occurring in such number and variety, as to transform the character of whole districts and vast populations, and to put all skepticism at utter defiance. And if some more philosophic authority is needed for the fact, we may be content with the sanction of Lord Bacon, who observed that a man reforms his habits either all together or not at all. Deterioration of mind is indeed always gradual; recovery usually sudden; for God, by a mystery of mercy, has established this distinction in our secret nature, — that while we cannot, by one dark plunge, sympathize with guilt far beneath us, but gaze at it with recoil till intermediate shades have rendered the degradation tolerable, we are yet capable of sympathizing with moral excellence and beauty infinitely above us; so that while the debased may shudder and sicken at even the true picture of themselves, they can feel the silent majesty of self-denying and disinterested duty. With a demon can no man feel complacency, though the demon be himself; but God can all spirits reverence, though his holiness be an infinite deep. And thus the soul, privately uneasy at its insincere state, is prepared, when vividly presented with some sublime object veiled before, to be pierced as by a flash from Heaven with an instant veneration, sometimes intense enough to fuse the fetters of habit and drop them to the earth whence they were forged. The mind is ready, like a liquid on the eve of crystallization, to yield up its state on the touch of the first sharp point, and dart, over its surface and in its depths, into beautiful and brilliant forms, and from being turbid and weak as water, to become clear as crystal, and solid as the rock." — pp. 109–111.

Mr. Martineau holds out but little encouragement to the Socialists.

"They must have the world mended, before they can be expected to be better than they are; they reverse the solemn

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exhortation of my text; and propose to make a stir to get the 'kingdom of Heaven' established first; and then repentance and moral renovation will follow of course. The machinery of human motives being, we are sometimes assured, altogether out of order, the manufacture of characters is unavoidably far from satisfactory. And not unfrequently a truly surprising amount of faith is manifested in the skill of certain moral mechanists, who promise to rectify the disorder, and form for us only the true specimens of men. Self-interest is the one force, by which all speculators of this class propose to animate their new frame-work of society; its application being ingeniously distributed so as to maintain an unerring equilibrium, and smoothly execute the work of duty. A hard-worked power is this Self-interest; by which vulgar minds, in schools of philosophy or in councils of state, have from an early age thought to subdue and manage men; but from which, time after time, they have broken loose in startling and remarkable ways. Against this reliance for human improvement on institutions and economical organization, apart from agencies internal and spiritual, Providence and history enter a perpetual protest. And it behooves all wise men to add their voices too; the more so, because it is the tendency of our times rather to criticise society, than to ennoble and sanctify individuals; to apply trading analogies to great questions of human improvement; to place as implicit a faith in the omnipotence of self-interest in morals as of steam in the arts; forgetting that between the grossest and the most refined form of this principle, there can only be the difference between the cannibal and the epicure. Let us not glorify the body of civilization, and overlook its soul: and while luxuriating in its fruits, neglect the waters at its secret root.

The systematic Socialist, who is confident he 'can explain the origin of evil,' and no less sure that he can remove it by a kind of mental engineering or exact computation of human wants and desires, is the extreme exemplification of this spirit. In order to indicate the fallacy of his scheme, it is not necessary to travel beyond his own class of illustrations. He perpetually calls the arrangements into which he proposes to fit the world, a 'machine.' In every machine there is a power to move, and a resistance to overcome; and in this particular project for curing the errors and perfecting the minds of men, it is clear that the social organization is relied upon as the *power*, to repress the human passions and will, considered as *resistance*. Yet, as organization is nothing in itself, but merely a disposition of parts through which force may be transmitted from point to point, no effect can ensue till it is filled and animated with some energy not its own; nor in this case can the boasted engine of improve-

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ment be worked but by the very minds it is intended to control; and the power and the resistance being thus the same, the machine must stand still, as certainly as the inventions on which sciolists waste their ingenuity, for producing perpetual motion and self-revolving wheels. Or, to take an illustration from morals rather than from physics, it is the same mistake, by which a disorderly mind expects to acquire faithfulness and punctuality of conscience, from a neatly-arranged list of employments and a well-filled scheme for the disposal of the hours. While the force of good resolve which produced the list remains, the self-made law continues to be obeyed, and the program looks up with a grave and venerable authority. But the occasion passes, the tension of the heart relaxes, temptations crowd and hurry back; and the slips of conscience re-commence, and confusion triumphs again, though the paper plans of duty are symmetrical as ever; looking now with vain remonstrance at our rebellion, till discarded and trodden under foot for reminding us of our departed allegiance." — pp. 116 — 119.

His discourse on "The Great Year of Providence" was preached in behalf of the London Domestic Mission. We copy the following earnest and eloquent appeal, from a belief that it may not be without its application and use in other places.

"Have you resolved, as much as in you lies, to lessen the number of those who, in this metropolis of the charities, have none to help them, or lift them from the darkness wherein they exist and perish unseen? It is good. Only remember, that if the ministry, which thus dives into the recesses of human wretchedness, and carries a healing pity to the body and the soul, which speaks to tempted, fallen, stricken men from a heart that feels their struggle terrible, yet believes the conquest possible, be really right and Christian, then its slowness is but the attendant and symptom of its worth; and to despond because a few years' labor exhibits no large and deep impression made on the wickedness and miseries of this great city, would be to slight the work and forget its dignity. When London, mother of mighty things, after the travail of centuries, brings forth woes, how can they be other than giant-woes, which no faint hope, no puny courage, but only the enterprise of high faith, can manacle and lay low. Surely it is an unworthy proposal which we sometimes hear respecting this and other deputed ministries of good, 'Well, it is a doubtful experiment, but let us try it for a few years.' If, indeed, this means that, in case of too small a measure of success, we are to do something more and greater; that we must be content with no niggardly and unproductive

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operation, but recognize in scanty results a call to stronger efforts; that, failing a delegated ministry, we will go forth ourselves into the places of want and sin, and make aggression on them with a mercy that can wait no more; — in *this* sense, let the mission pass for a temporary trial. But if it be meant that, disappointed in our hopes, we are to give it all up and *do nothing;* that, having once set plainly before our face the beseeching looks of wounded and bleeding humanity stretched upon our path, we are to 'pass by on the other side,' thinking it enough to have 'come and seen where it was,' — then I must say that any work, undertaken in this spirit, *has* failed already. For my own part, I should say that were we even to make *no* visible progress, were we able to beat back the ills with which we contend by not one hair's breadth; nay, were they to be seen actually advancing on us, still no retreat, but only the more strenuous aggression, would be admissible. For what purpose can any Christian say that he is here in life, with his divine intimation of what *ought to be*, and his sorrowing perception of what *is*, if not to put forth a perpetual endeavor against the downward gravitation of his own and others' nature? And if in the conquest of evil God can engage himself eternally, is it not a small thing for us to yield up to the struggle our threescore years and ten? Whatever difficulties may baffle us, whatever defeat await us, it is our business to live with resistance in our will, and die with protest on our lips, and make our whole existence, not only in desire and prayer, but in resolve, in speech, in act, a remonstrance against whatever hurts and destroys in all the earth. Did we give heed to the councils of passiveness and despondency, our Christendom, faithless to the trust consigned to it by Heaven, must perish by the forces to which it has succumbed. For, between the Christian faith, teaching the Fatherhood of God and the immortality of men, between this and the degradation of large portions of the human family, there is an irreconcilable variance, an internecine war, to be interrupted by no parley, and mitigated by no quarter; and if faith gives up its aggression upon the evil, the evil must destroy the faith. If the world were all a slave-market or a gin-palace, what possible place could such a thing as the Christian religion find therein? Who, amid a carnival of sin, could believe in any deathless sanctity? or, through the steams of a besotted earth, discern the pure light of an overarching heaven? or, through the moans and dumb anguish of a race, send up a hymn of praise to the All-merciful? And are there not thousands already, so environed and shut in that *their* world *is* little else than this? In proportion as this number is permitted to increase, does Christianity lose its evidence, and become impossible. Sensualism and sin cannot

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abide the clear angelic look of Christian faith; but if once that serene eye becomes confused and droops abashed, the foe starts up in demoniac triumph, and proclaims man to be a brute, and earth a grave." — pp. 249 — 251.

In the preface Mr. Martineau announces his purpose to follow up this volume with another, on the Divine Ministry of Christ, and a third, on the Christianity of Paul. He also has in preparation another and still more important work, designed to give a distinct answer to the question, "What is Christianity?"

J. W.

ART. IV. — THE HEAVENS.

IT is midnight in October; midnight in the time of harvest-moon. No sound disturbs the profound stillness, save the half smothered chirp of the cricket, or the fall of the crackling leaf, sere with the autumn frosts. The trees cast out on the broad plains their long black shadows, and the very winds, which at night-fall were making sad music in their rustling foliage, now sleep. "Speech is silver, silence is golden," says the German. And how much grander is the silence of the heavens than the noise, and revelry and restlessness of this lower world.

We are fain to believe that in older times, as now, the heavens had much lofty, spiritual meaning for man. The terms, etherial, spiritual, lofty, and celestial, express in different tongues all that is pure and holy and noble and excellent in man's nature, as well as the character of the Deity himself; and we are persuaded, not from the mere examination of language, but now as with devout awe we contemplate the heavens above us, that something more than the lofty and sublime has been imaged forth by them in all times to the human mind. The air of heaven has ever been to man a sign and emblem of the invisible and the pure; the clear silent firmament of stars has ever been the expression of the calm, serene glory of Him who "is a spirit." Man has ever believed in a Power — a Spirit — unseen like the wind — known by its wondrous effects —

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"that bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth." Up in the pure infinite ether — in the heavens — was the throne, the seat of the Invisible; and thence came all powers, spirits, breaths, that moved upon earth and gave it life and action. Thither also must have ascended the lives and spirits that, leaving the bodies of the dying, were to be found no more on earth forever. They had gone to the invisible world of which the heavens are a constant type.

As the earth represents movement and activity, so the skies image forth to our mind repose — silence — eternity. The earth is beautiful with its waving woods, its fields of green enamelled with purple and gold, its lofty hills, its dancing streams, its ever sounding ocean; and the eye delights and expands the soul with the messages of love and truth it gathers thence. But the joy of earth is active, wild, stirring — an image of the life and ever-moving face of the earth. It is a joy that incites to action, — to move, and to do, and to take part in the universal stir and motion of life. The earth is, indeed, the beautiful and finite, but the skies, the sublime and infinite, exciting in the beholder a calm and holy joy, that raises him from earth and exalts him to a communion with the High and Holy One, whom the mind of the devout man in every age has seen enthroned there.

Especially when day has set, and earth's bright reflection of sunlight has become gray and dim, and its glare and tumult passed away, — when we are compelled to leave the labors of the day, does the heaven become beautiful and useful to us. We grow calm, serene, silent, like the vault above. Thus the twilight and the midnight hours are the Sabbath time of every day. Then, if ever, do we enjoy a Sabbath of the soul. They open to the weary traveller of life's daily journey "the comfortable inn" of spiritual refreshment and repose. For by night the heaven seems nearer to us than by day; then it bends down over us and speaks to our souls with a voiceless melody. Thus even the divine Jesus, and good men in all times, have retired to the desert — the solitary place far from the turmoil of man, and have spent the night in prayer — in spiritual communion with the Invisible: thus have they

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departed in the day from the bustle of earth, and ascended the mountains to approach nearer the silence and the sublimity of the heavens.

Various simple nations have made the mountains, that lift up their heads to the heavens, the places of their worship; and the Indian points to the lofty summit as the altar and temple of his Manitou. So the Grecian placed his Gods in the etherial top of Mount Olympus. The heavens then, in the abstract, are the emblem of all that is pure, sublime, and infinite in the spiritual nature. As heaven arches above earth, so does this high and pure state of the soul rise above worldly passion and earthly interests. As the glorious vault above glows the brighter to our eye, when darkness shrouds the earth, so the heaven within becomes more clearly discernible, as the noxious vapours of earthly life disappear, as worldly cares and passions die within us, and earthly attractions fade away. As the sublimity of the firmament most strongly impresses itself upon our minds in the deepest silence of creation, so

> "In secret silence of the mind,
> Our God, and there our heaven, we find."

There is a grand principle of analogy throughout the universe, binding all things together and proving their intimate relationship. In all this variety is perceived the great unity. One beautiful thing suggests to the mind all other forms of beauty; and outward loveliness calls up the inward grace. So too the sense of God's love as manifested in the universe awakens the latent spirit of love in us. Thus the beauty of nature and the beauty of the soul ever suggest each other, and the love of the Divine cannot be parted from the love of the human.

The heavenly state and the heavenly place — the material and the abstract heaven — are too apt to be confounded. We forget, when mingled with man and his present imperfections, that God is acting in and with this mysterious mankind, and regard him as existing only in the fields of azure purity above. We forget that he is everywhere, and that there is no point in the infinity of space to which his peculiar presence is confined. To us, indeed, he is most clearly manifested in the soul. The human spirit is his most glorious temple, and there is he more directly present

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with us. The more we know ourselves, and thus God and his creations, the more we shall find that

> "The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

For the heaven of peace and purity and love within the soul knows no place nor time; it illumines the darkest abyss with its serene light; it chastens the brightest sunshine. It is everywhere; it is now; and it exists in the real and present salvation — in the sense of God's presence in the soul. J. R.

Art. V. — PRESCOTT'S HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.*

The scholar who will take the time and expend the research necessary to produce an important history, confers a benefit on his age and country, which it is the duty of criticism to measure with its best diligence. The subject of the present work, the Conquest of Mexico, including the personal history of the conqueror, so far as connected with or flowing from his great enterprise, possesses extraordinary attractions. The author expresses a fear, in his preface, that his plan, combining a philosophical discussion of the Mexican civilization with a history of the conquest, concluded by a biography of the hero, may seem incongruous. He will not be sorry to have us say, after a careful perusal of his three volumes, that we have not experienced the impression he was afraid of producing. He has succeeded in uniting the three departments of his work through the interest of his reader; and while doing so, he has had within the scope of his pen the three kinds of historical composition, which lord Bacon thus defines: "History, which may be called *just* and *perfect history*, is of three

* *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés.* By William H. Prescott, Author of the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella." 3 Volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1843. Royal 8vo. pp. 488, 480, 524.

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kinds, according to the object which it propoundeth, or pretendeth to represent; for it either representeth a time, or a person, or an action. The first we call Chronicles, the second Lives, and the third Narrations, or Relations." "Of these," he says, "the first is the most complete and absolute kind of history, and hath most estimation and glory."

The work before us exhibits a union of these three kinds of history. The introductory view of the Aztec civilization is what lord Bacon would call a chronicle, or the history of a time. It is a history of the Mexican age; a grand view of the "time" that was then and there passing in the valley of Mexico, showing what manner of men and things made up the sum and substance of the great Aztec Empire, which a mere handful of men, of another race, were soon to annihilate forever. Then follows the history of the conquest, being truly the history of an "action;" than which there is not another within the range of history more extraordinary. Finally, we have the biography of Cortés, in "a true, native and lively representation."

The writer who proposes to himself the union of these three classes of subjects in one work, incurs, we will admit with Mr. Prescott, some risk. But when his subject demands it, it is a risk which a scholar may well take, who has amassed the requisite materials, acquired the true historic art of using them, cultivated a style at once brilliant and exact, and prepared the way for a favorable reception of his book by a previous eminently successful history. The risk, in the present case, has been incurred cheerfully, and all its hazards have been gracefully and triumphantly passed. We have no fears for the book on this account. We anticipate no important criticism on this point. In our judgment, the author could not have dispensed with the preliminary view of the Aztec civilization; and as to the biography of Cortés, whatever may be the feeling of the reader towards him, he would not be content to lose sight of a man whose adventures he had followed up to the great achievement of his life, without knowing what became of him at last. Being therefore under a kind of necessity so to compose his work, the author has given to each department its full proportions, and has combined the whole in the unity at which he aimed — the unity of interest. But

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we must break this harmonious whole into its several parts, though we can bestow upon each a very unequal portion of our present attention.

The predecessors of Mr. Prescott, in this field of history, are chiefly Robertson and Solis. Dr. Robertson, the Scotch historian of America, necessarily devoted but a small space to the conquest of Mexico. It is the subject of his fifth book, extending over the period from 1518 to 1540, and is contained, in the London edition of 1817, in less than one hundred and twenty openly printed octavo pages. It is obvious that whatever might have been his materials, he could not in this space have written a sufficient history of the Conquest. Solis is of course more formidable. His *Historia de la Conquista De Mexico*, first published in 1684, of which the edition of Madrid, 1783, is before us, is an imposing work, in two volumes quarto, of nearly 500 pages each; and the author was Historiographer of the Indies. But the state of knowledge in Spain itself at the time when he wrote, compared with the ample materials collected by Mr. Prescott, may be inferred by any one who will compare the copious notes and exact references of the latter and his account of his resources given in the preface, with the manner in which Solis often fortifies his conclusions by the simple declaration — "we follow herein the father Joseph De Acosta, and others, the best informed writers."* Highly creditable as his work is to himself and his country, it still as a history, in the exact and proper sense of the term, leaves everything to be done after it — it leaves such a history to be written. Its literary merit is great. It is a beautifully written general outline of the subject; or rather, it is a skillfully drawn picture of the great action it describes; for the author seems to be painting history, rather than writing it.

Both of these authors fall far behind Mr. Prescott in giving us a full idea of the civilization of the Aztecs. Turning to Robertson, the reader will find that he has given him no greater information with regard to the civilization of Mexico, than he has of that of other countries

* Solis, tom i. "Seguimos al Padre Josef de Acosta, y à otros autores de las mejor informados."

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conquered and settled by the European nations. From the nature of his work, he could not well pause to describe a peculiar race, even if he possessed the requisite materials, for the essay would have required as much space as he has devoted to the whole subject of Mexico. In Solis, we have five chapters devoted to some features of the social and political condition of the Mexicans. They are contained in only forty-seven pages of the large type of the edition before us; — a measure of the real contents of a given part of such a work not at all decisive of the amount of information to be found in it; but it is a measure of the importance attributed by Solis to this part of his subject, in a work of nearly a thousand pages.

In the first of these five chapters, he describes the city of Mexico, its climate and situation, the market of Tlatelolco, and the principal temple dedicated to the gods of war. In the second, he describes the different palaces and villas of Montezuma, his armories and gardens, with other remarkable edifices in and about the city. In the third, he gives an account of the "pomp and exactness" (ostentacion y puntualidad) with which the table of the Emperor was served, his manner of giving audience, and other particulars of his domestic life and pleasures. The fourth contains an account of the riches of Montezuma, of the administration of his revenues and of the public justice, with other particulars in the political and military department of the government. The fifth is devoted to the Mexican computation and division of time, festivals, marriages and other rites; and contains also some slight account of their religious faith.*

It is obvious that the two last chapters are the most important; but not to fatigue the reader with any more minute account of what a foreign historian has written, we pass at once to the Mexican civilization as described by Mr. Prescott.

We learn then from Mr. Prescott's introduction, that the great Aztec Empire extended over a country about twice as large as the whole of New England, presenting every variety of climate and capable of yielding nearly every fruit found between the equator and the Arctic circle. En-

* Solis, tom i. chap. 13 to 17, pp. 389 — 436.

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closed in a rampart of high and rocky mountains, and at a general elevation of more than seven thousand feet above the ocean, lies the valley of Mexico, about sixty-seven leagues in circumference, with five lakes spread over its surface, on the largest of which stood the cities of Mexico and Tezcuco. Of the primitive races who preceded the Aztecs in the occupation of this valley the first were the Toltecs, who came into it, according to all tradition, in the seventh century; and to them Mr. Prescott traces some of the most remarkable features of the civilization which the Spaniards found in the country. The Toltecs disappeared as a nation in the twelfth century, and were succeeded by the Chichemecs, a ruder tribe, and other races, who in their turn succumbed to the Aztecs or Mexicans, a people of higher civilization, who arrived on the borders of the territory, from the north, and seated themselves on the lake about the year 1325. Cortés invaded their country in the year 1519. It was at the end of two centuries therefore after the foundation of their State, that the Aztecs were found in that state of civilization, which Mr. Prescott shows to have been discovered by the Spaniards.

Their government was an elective monarchy, the sovereign, however, being always chosen from the same family. The immediate electors were four of the principal nobles, designated by their own order in the previous reign, together with the two allied sovereigns of Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Around this throne an aristocracy of chiefs or nobles, holding their estates and dignities by a tenure that made them vassals of the crown, centered in such numbers and dignity, that according to some accounts there were thirty great caciques having their residence in the capital. The tenure of their estates was in some respects quite analagous to the feudal system. Some were restricted as to the right of alienation; others were entailed; and others were charged with various military and civil services to the crown, one of which, as graceful as anything that adorns the monarchy of England, required an annual offering, by way of homage to the king, of fruits and flowers. The laws were recorded in hieroglyphical paintings, and published to the people; though there seems to have been no other legislative power than that of the crown itself. But there was a great judicial system, the peculiarities of which

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Mr. Prescott has developed, upon perfectly credible evidence, and which constituted the glory of this singular government.

Over each of the principal cities, with its dependent territories, was placed a supreme judge, whose jurisdiction was final, both in civil and criminal cases. Below this magistrate, a court of three other judges was established in every province, having concurrent jurisdiction in civil cases, but in criminal an appeal lay to his tribunal. All these judges were appointed by the crown. Inferior magistrates, chosen by the people, were distributed over the country. The remarkable features of this judiciary were, that the higher magistrates, the judges appointed by the crown, were maintained from the produce of a part of the crown lands, reserved for this purpose, *and were made independent of the crown, their offices being held for life.* We confess that when we came upon this curious fact, not found in Solis, we were prepared to admit the propriety of the term *civilization*, as applied to the social and political condition of the Aztecs. Our thoughts recurred at once to the Anglo-Saxon liberty, which ripened at last into this, the strongest barrier, as Mr. Prescott justly says, that a mere constitution can afford against tyranny. We thought of the glory of England, whose glory it is, to have made this great discovery in the science of practical liberty; and our wonder was not slight, at the idea of the later independence of Westminister Hall matched by a judiciary, its predecessor in the acquisition of this tenure of office, in the great barbaric empire of Montezuma. Alas, the remorseless tooth of time! No history, no records or tradition, can tell us now, from what prince of the royal line of Anahuac this provision of the constitution was wrested, as a gem from his crown, to be set on the radiant brow of Liberty. We can never know how the judges comported themselves, before its introduction; what intrigues, what bribes, what threats, what messages from court, what intimations of the royal will, made the Aztec judge remember upon his bench that it was not a seat for life. Was there any great chancellor, in a former reign, the pride of all Indian philosophy in his own and future ages, who took splendid presents of featherwork and curious jewelry, in anticipation of the loss of his official income? Was there

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any question of the royal exactions mooted in the courts, and did any plain country cacique, the Hampden of his time, gain immortal honor by his assertion of the liberties of Mexicans in the face of too compliant judges? Was a judge ever removed? What great magistrate was too virtuous for the government? What supple courtier was substituted in his place? All these, the secret histories of their freedom, have perished forever; but man and society are essentially the same, in all ages, and we may guess at these things in the annals of Mexican, with almost the same certainty with which we can read them in those of English liberty.

We should not speak of this institution too lightly nor too seriously. On the one hand, it is not to be imagined that this semi-civilized people had thoroughly put in practice the theory of an independent judiciary; but on the other hand, it is certain that they evinced an enlightened apprehension of some of the means of counteracting in its organization the otherwise despotic character of their government. This is apparent from the further account given by the author, of the administration of their laws. To receive any bribe, was a capital offence in a judge; and to show that their independence of the crown was real, Mr. Prescott states that there is no evidence that any one of the Aztec monarchs was ever accused of an attempt to violate it. Justice was administered speedily. The parties managed their own causes — no such order as advocates being known in the State. The records were kept in hieroglyphical paintings; and it is manifest that the proceedings were conducted with legal precision and regularity, from the fact that these paintings, in suits respecting real property, were admitted in evidence in the Spanish courts, long after the Conquest. The capital crimes were homicide, theft, adultery, removing the boundaries of estates, altering the established measures, and breach of trust in a guardian as to the property of his ward. The mere existence of the relation of guardian and ward, coupled with the severity with which its duties were enforced, evinces a highly artificial state of society, with respect to property. The right of appeal to the highest tribunal, in criminal cases, and the admissibility of the oath of the accused to exculpate himself, exhibit the care for the subject, with which they administered a penal code as severe as any recorded in history.

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Solis does not seem to have investigated the organization of the Mexican judiciary; or else he thought it of little importance to give an accurate notion of it to his readers. He hardly distinguishes at all between the functions and jurisdiction of the different magistrates, although he informs us that they administered customary law, wherever the will of the prince — or as we should say, legislation — had not altered the custom.* He makes no mention of their tenure of office, their official support, or the punishment for taking bribes; neither does he state that records were kept of the suits litigated before them. These four particulars go to the essence of a judiciary as a department of government; and the Spanish historian was apparently not aware that they existed in Mexico.

Slavery existed among the Mexicans; but unlike the law of every other country in which it has existed, the Mexican code did not affix to the child of a slave the condition of its parent. The slaves were prisoners of war, criminals, public debtors, paupers who sold themselves, and children, who were sold by their parents into a mild sort of servitude. The civil incapacities of the slave were not so great as among the Romans.

Mr. Prescott next proceeds to the revenues and the military institutions of the Aztecs, of which he gives a luminous and exact account, supported by ample authorities. He then treats of their mythology and religion. He is satisfied that their religious faith originated from two distinct sources; that they derived from their predecessors in the land a mild theism, on which they afterwards engrafted their own mythology. However this may be, it is manifest that their system was as incongruous as any that ever existed. They believed in the supreme Creator and Lord of the universe, whom they addressed by prayer. They had adequate notions of his attributes of omniscience, omnipresence and perfection. But as if the one God whom they adored were not enough for the universe, they set up in their imaginations and their temples thirteen other principal deities and more than two hundred inferior gods. We cannot pause to allude to any of these, except that remarkable divinity, whose second advent, promised in the

* Solis, tom i. pp. 419, 420.

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remote age when he took his departure on the boundless ocean, seemed to the astonished nations of the valley to be at hand, when the first rumors of the white man's coming floated over the eastern hills, and spread like dark and threatening clouds over the whole land. This was the god Quetzalcoatl — the period of whose residence on earth was their golden age, who predicted that he and his descendants would return. It was a fatal superstition. How long they had cherished it, what ideas they attached to his coming, or for what purpose it was designed, we do not precisely learn; but it is manifest through the whole narrative, that to this it was owing, that they first permitted the entry of Cortés into the land, and that down to the last moment of their expiring struggles for their country this superstition chilled their hearts. Had the religion of the country been a mere theism alone, if the Mexicans could but have reached the conception of a just Providence, caring equally for them as for the white men, Cortés and his Spaniards would have been annihilated. It seems strange that they should not have attained to this idea, for they believed in the immortality of the soul, and assigned the highest place in heaven to the heroes who fell in battle. But a numerous and most active priesthood, who performed all the offices of education and filled their whole society with the influences of such a body, could neither leave the religion of a rude people to purify itself into a simple faith, nor suffer them to retain the purity of belief which the more ancient civilization of the country may have transmitted to them.

Their human sacrifices and their cannibalism also present to Mr. Prescott proofs of a departure from the peaceful rites derived from their Toltec predecessors. He has expended much successful research on this part of their customs, and as it is a point of some consequence in his apology for the conquest, which we shall notice hereafter, we ought not to omit a brief statement of the facts. The Aztecs sacrificed to the gods prisoners taken in war and sometimes other victims. The extent of these sacrifices was enormous, and they were often conducted with great pomp, being a regular institution of the religion of the country. The body of the victim was sometimes delivered over to the warrior who had taken him in battle, and by

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him after being dressed was served up in a banquet to his friends, prepared with art and attended by both sexes. Cannibalism was not known among them in any other form than this, and in this form it was evidently the fruit of some horrible superstition, that in their eyes ennobled and sanctioned a feast at which nature herself revolts. "In this state of things," says Mr. Prescott, (and his position is remarkable,) "it was beneficently ordered by Providence that the land should be delivered over to another race, who would rescue it from the brutish superstitions that daily extended wider and wider, with extent of empire. The debasing institutions of the Aztecs furnished the best apology for their conquest."

We have not space even to condense the author's very clear and satisfactory account of their hieroglyphics, their manuscripts, arithmetic, chronology and astronomy. The recondite chapter in which he has treated these subjects is as acute as it is learned. It contains an account of Mexican science for which all his readers will owe him a great obligation. It is manifest, on comparing the chapter with what Solis has given us upon a part of the same topics, that the latter did not know, or did not think proper to tell, a tithe of what is described by our countryman with so much spirit and accuracy, from the most authentic sources. We commend to the attention of the reader his account of the wonderful advances and discoveries made by the Mexicans in chronology and astronomy.

Mr. Prescott proceeds from these subjects to the agriculture of the Mexicans, their mechanic arts, internal commerce, and domestic manners. Agriculture, including horticulture, was in a very advanced state; in fact, few countries in the world were at that time under a higher state of cultivation. Drainage, irrigation and ample grainaries evinced the forecast of civilized man; and with the existence of individual proprietorship of the soil, defended by the utmost severities of their code, widely distinguished them from the wandering tribes of the rest of the continent. In the mechanic arts they had clearly reached as high a point as any people to whom the use of iron was unknown. Great fairs and markets, the traffic in which was under the inspection of magistrates appointed for the purpose, displayed a vast and various commerce, in which a regulated

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currency, of different values, was not unknown. Trade was an employment held in the most honorable estimation, and often became the path to eminent political preferment. Their domestic manners present only a single feature repulsive or revolting to a civilized taste; the one we have noticed before. With this barbarous exception, there was a refinement, a grace and delicacy in their social intercourse, and a luxury and magnificence in their repasts, that remind us of the East; while the consideration and social equality with which they treated the female sex places their curious civilization far in advance of that of the Eastern nations. Polygamy was allowed; but fidelity to the marriage vow was enforced by the most terrible penalties that have ever been known in history. Their morality may be inferred from the discipline in their public schools, and from the high value they set upon the virtue of modesty in woman. No more remarkable document, concerning the moral civilization of a country, has ever seen the light, than the "Advice of an Aztec mother to her daughter," which Mr. Prescott has translated from Sahagun, in the Appendix to his third volume. We have room only for short extracts.

"In walking, my daughter, see that you behave becomingly, neither going with haste, nor too slowly; since it is an evidence of being puffed up, to walk too slowly, and walking hastily causes a vicious habit of restlessness and instability. * * * Another thing that you must attend to, my daughter, is, that, when you are in the street you do not go looking like a near-sighted person, nor, on your way, make fantastic movements with your feet. Walk through the street quietly and with propriety. See, my daughter, that you give yourself no concern about the words you may hear in going through the street, nor pay any regard to them, let those who come and go say what they will. Take care that you neither answer nor speak, but act as if you neither heard nor understood them; since, doing in this manner, no one will be able to say with truth, that you have said anything amiss."

The document does not inform us whether the fair daughters of Mexico were permitted to converse with their male acquaintances, in the street; but if we may infer the *etiquette* of a graceful and social people from their general spirit, we shall probably do no great injustice to "those

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noble and venerable dames," "the grandmothers" of the young lady who is the object of these instructions, when we conclude that she was permitted, with the air "of one who looks upon all with a serene countenance," to be joined by any admiring Aztec who might be walking the same way, if his rank were suitable. Whatever may be our speculations on this interesting point of manners, we can have little hesitation in wondering at the moral sublimity, with which the instruction concludes.

"Our Lord is compassionate; but, if you commit treason against your husband, God, who is in every place, shall take vengeance on your sin, and will permit you to have neither contentment, nor repose, nor a peaceful life; and he will excite your husband to be always unkind towards you, and always to speak to you with anger. My dear daughter, whom I tenderly love, see that you live in the world in peace, tranquillity and contentment, all the days that you shall live. See that you disgrace not yourself, that you stain not your honor, nor pollute the lustre and fame of your ancestors. See that you honor me and your father, and reflect glory on us by your good life. May God prosper you, my first born, and may you come to God who is in every place."

The origin of this singular civilization has been made the subject of a separate essay, which the author has placed at the end of his third volume, although he had originally intended it for the close of his preliminary essay. It is an elaborate and discriminating paper, to which we cannot do justice by any account of it that our limits will permit. But the civilization itself, which has attracted so much of our interest, and has been so fully exhibited by the author, we could not pass over. We may well credit the statement that it has cost him as much labor and nearly as much time as the remainder of the history. It reflects the highest credit on his diligence, his acuteness and power of condensation. It is not only the most elaborate, but by far the most valuable part of his work. Brilliantly as he has told the story of the Conquest, if we were asked to designate that portion of the work which confers the greatest benefit on the reading world, we should unhesitatingly point to that part of it in which he has fully succeeded in giving a just idea of the true nature and extent of the civilization to which the Mexicans had attained. We have

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intended to institute no formal comparisons between Mr. Prescott and his predecessors Robertson and Solis; but the few points on which we have incidentally stated what they had not done, will show that the materials for an adequate idea of the Mexican civilization, however ample and authentic, required to be examined and brought into a connected and harmonious whole. There are few pieces of history in which a task of this kind has been performed so well. The author will be well repaid for all his labor, for that which confers the great benefit of a novel and well digested subject like this on innumerable readers, cannot but repay in reputation all that it has cost the writer. He has added to our store of knowledge and reflection a subject of the highest interest and value, a view of a remarkable portion of the human family, whose condition he has rescued from the darkness of fable and placed in the light of exact and authentic history. What Niebühr has done for the ancient Etruscan civilization, Mr. Prescott has done for that of the Mexicans.

We cannot too highly estimate the importance of this portion of Mr. Prescott's labors. He has opened and successfully wrought a mine of far greater value to the world, than those which, subsequently to the age of Cortés — to use his own beautiful and happy phrase — "poured their silver deluge over Europe." The discoverer, who lays open to the civilized world the embowelled riches of the earth, is deemed at least fortunate, nor is it to be doubted that he is also, in some sense, a benefactor. But he, who, exploring the regions of the past, for the delight and profit of mankind, makes known a vast store of intellectual and moral wealth, in the frame and spirit of a lost civilization, confers upon the world riches that can neither corrupt, nor be corrupted. This view of the Mexican civilization is so curious and important, as connected with the philosophy of man, and with great questions and problems of human progress, that we cannot but think our countryman eminently fortunate and sagacious, in discovering its bearings and resolving to investigate its whole structure. Whether it is to be regarded as an indigenous civilization, or as borrowed in some degree from the nations of the East, it is equally a most important and instructive study. For it shows how man may advance from barbarism, or fall away

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from civilization; what influences will suppress and finally destroy the best tendencies of his nature; what heighth his merely material cultivation may attain, while his spiritual conceptions degenerate more and more towards a brutal superstition; and, not least among its lessons, it shows, in the most striking manner, how thin is the partition that sometimes divides the heathen from the Christian world. The work in which all this is exhibited, in the case of the Mexicans, with so much fulness and accuracy, with such a truly philosophical spirit, and with so much grace and beauty of style and illustration, is an honor to this, as it would be to any other country.

The five following books, after the first in his work, Mr. Prescott has devoted to the march to Mexico, the residence of the Spaniards in the capital, and their final conquest of it; and the narration contains events, some of which are the most extraordinary on the page of history. The whole action is too feebly described by the epithet romantic. Language is at fault, in the attempt to characterise an achievement so rash, commenced in such consummate boldness, persevered in with such indomitable energy, and finished with such complete and cruel success. The author has wrought up the whole of this strange eventful story, in a series of chapters which enchain the attention far more securely than any fiction we have read since the age of manhood. Step by step he conducts the Spaniards on their march, day by day he describes their residence and experience in the capital, inch by inch he fights over the ground with them, as they are expelled from the city, hour by hour he conducts the siege, on their return; proceeding all the while upon the unquestionable authority of evidence which he has thoroughly sifted. The reader feels no hesitation about any part of the narrative, strange as it is; for he feels that he has committed his belief to a writer who has no tendency to exaggerate the effect of the materials in his hands. We deem this one of the important merits of the work. No slight degree of care was requisite, in the management of such a history, to preserve the dramatic interest of the story, and yet to avoid conducting it into the realms of fiction. There are authorities, who might have misled the author, from the true path, if he had not possessed too disciplined a judgment for such a failure.

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We now come to what may be called the author's apology for the Conquest, and for the conduct of the conquerors, so far as he interposes his judgment in their favor. But in order that we may do no injustice to the author, or to "the old conquerors" themselves, it will be necessary for us to state his position in his own words. He remarks with great truth, in speaking of the massacre at Cholula, that "the difficulty that meets us at the outset is, to find a justification of the right of conquest, at all." But in seeking for what *to the conquerors themselves* was a justification, he insists that we must transport ourselves to their age, consider the public law of Europe at that time, and make due allowance for the religious fanaticism of both the church and the period to which they belonged. "But it should be remembered," he continues, "that religious infidelity, at this period, and till a much later, was regarded — no matter whether founded on ignorance or education, whether hereditary or acquired, heretical or Pagan — as a sin to be punished with fire and fagot in this world, and eternal suffering in the next. This doctrine, monstrous as it is, was the creed of the Romish, in other words, of the Christian Church, — the basis of the Inquisition, and of those other species of religious persecutions, which have stained the annals, at some time or other, of nearly every nation in Christendom. Under this code, the territory of the heathen, wherever found, was regarded as a sort of religious waif, which, in default of a legal proprietor, was claimed and taken possession of by the Holy See, and as such was freely given away by the head of the Church, to any temporal potentate whom he pleased, that would assume the burden of conquest. Thus, Alexander the Sixth generously granted a large portion of the Western hemisphere to the Spaniards, and of the Eastern to the Portuguese. These lofty pretensions of the successors of the humble fishermen of Galilee, far from being nominal, were acknowledged and appealed to as conclusive in controversies between nations. With the right of conquest, thus conferred, came, also, the obligation, on which it may be said to have been founded, to retrieve the nations sitting in darkness from eternal perdition. * * * The concession of the Pope, then, founded on and enforcing the imperative duty of conversion, was the assumed basis — and, in the

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apprehension of that age, a sound one — of the right of conquest."*

Mr. Prescott has added to these views one other element in the case of Mexico, the debasing institutions existing in the country, which we have already cited as in his opinion furnishing the best apology for the conquest. He elsewhere concludes an eloquent description of the fatal defects of the Mexican civilization with the reflection, that "the empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time." "Whether," he proceeds, "these unparalleled outrages furnish a sufficient plea to the Spaniards for their invasion, whether, with the Protestant, we are content to find a warrant for it in the natural rights and demands of civilization, or, with the Roman Catholic, in the good pleasure of the Pope — on the one or other of which grounds the conquests by most Christian nations in the East and the West have been defended, — it is unnecessary to discuss, as it has been already considered in a former chapter. It is more material to inquire, whether, assuming the right, the conquest of Mexico was conducted with a proper regard to the claims of humanity."†

We fully agree with the author, that we must judge Cortés by the lights of his own age; but we must also take into view the actual circumstances of the whole case. The question, then, to be considered is, was there, in the apprehension of that age, a sufficient justification for undertaking and effecting the conquest of such a country as Mexico, precisely as Cortés undertook and achieved it. The only doubt that we have upon this point is, whether Mr. Prescott does not lay too much stress upon the mere pretensions of the Holy See and its supposed power to grant away the territory of the heathen. We are aware that it is very difficult to determine with precision what knowledge of public law, as it was held in his time, such a man as Cortés would be likely to possess and refer to in his own mind as a standard — if, indeed, he referred to any. It is even still more difficult to ascertain what the public law of that period was, if there can be said to have been any, upon these points, that deserves the name. If it

* Vol. ii. pp. 30 — 32. † Vol. iii. p. 217.

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be true, that for half a century after the discovery of this Western world all Catholic Christendom believed that the heathen and their property could lawfully be granted away by the Pope, to whomsoever he pleased, then all question or difficulty about the right of conquest, in the apprehension of that age, vanishes, of course. But it seems to us, that it is of some importance, in judging of the career of Cortés, to consider how far his own government intended to act upon this ground. It may elucidate the subject, somewhat, if we state what the general law of Europe soon became, in the course of the next century. In the age that immediately succeeded that of Cortés, all Europe became nearly agreed, upon the foundation of rights applicable to discoveries made upon this continent. The doctrines of this succeeding age are capable at least of being traced and reduced to a definite system. It does not, indeed, satisfy us; but compared with the atrocious doctrines which are supposed to have been held in Spain in the time of Cortés, it is as light to darkness.

The position of the question, in the age immediately succeeding that of Cortés, was this. The Popes had undertaken to grant away the territories of the heathen, in the most unqualified manner, and these grants purported to convey the very soil of countries then unvisited by Europeans. James I. also made grants in the same presumptuously unlimited terms. The Plymouth Patent purported to convey to the Company in absolute property all the lands between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude; and when this patent passed the great seal of England, these lands were the residence and property of the Indian tribes. But then all these grants, whether made by Protestant or by Catholic powers in Europe, were not understood, in the seventeenth century, to be of any avail, unless made effectual by discovery and occupation. The rights flowing from discovery and actual occupation were held, by all Europe, necessary to complete the right of the particular sovereign to vest these countries in his subjects and to claim jurisdiction over them himself. Spain herself did not rest her title solely on the grant of the Pope, nor, we may add, on his injunction to Ferdinand and Isabella to reduce the natives to the Catholic faith. In all her discussions respecting boundary with France, with England, and with this

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country, she has placed her right on the European law of discovery.* This was a law to regulate the relations between the discoverers and the rest of Europe, as to the countries discovered. If followed by actual occupation, it has always been understood to give to the discoverers an exclusive right to acquire the territory of the natives and to regulate the relations between the natives and themselves. No other power could divest this paramount right in the discoverers to acquire the territory, and no other power could abrogate their title, when they had obtained it.

Such were the relations between the different powers of Europe, with respect to these countries, flowing from the public law applicable to discoveries. But the same law was understood to define in some degree the relations between the discoverers and the natives. It is true that it could not *govern* these relations in practice, as it could those between the discoverers and other Europeans. If the Spaniards committed cruelties and attempted unjustifiable conquests to gain a title, other powers could not then interfere, whatever might be done at the present day. But then the relations of the discoverers to the natives must be

* Mr. Prescott states that the pretensions of the Papal See were acknowledged and appealed to as conclusive, in controversies between nations, in the age of Cortes. But he refers to only one negotiation, in which the Papal bull was made the basis of a treaty; this was the treaty of Tordesillas, between the Castilian and Portuguese governments. It is worthy of note, that the parties to this negotiation were the same sovereigns who had solicited and received the Papal bull of partition. Mr. Prescott has shown, in his History of Ferdinand and Isabella, what their motives were, in applying to the Pope for a confirmation of their title to their own discoveries. The kings of Portugal had formerly received a grant from the Holy See of lands "discovered and to be discovered" by them; and John II., the reigning king of Portugal, was the great rival of the Spanish sovereigns in the discovery and acquisition of new countries. They wished to exclude him from all claim in the Western Ocean; and they were therefore willing to go to the Pope for a grant, because they knew that his authority was precisely what John would be obliged to respect, since he claimed to be acting under it himself. But they manifestly considered the whole affair in no other light than as a piece of diplomacy. They took care to tell the Pope that it was the opinion of many competent persons, that his grant or confirmation was not necessary to the validity of their title; yet as pious princes and dutiful children of the Church, they thought proper to ask for his sanction to their discoveries. They wanted the bull to use against their rival. The Pope issued it; and when the grants to the two powers, from an authority on which they both relied *as against each other*, came to be considered in the negotiation, their effect in the treaty was in the nature of an arbitrament. (*See* History of Ferdinand and Isabella, Vol. ii. p. 259, et seq.)

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considered as in some degree defined at all times by the public law, for they manifestly rested on the law of nature, on reason and justice, and on the fair necessities and demands of civilization; and every European nation, and every captain or discoverer of every nation, must be judged by the lights which his own age and the circumstances afforded upon these points.

Now the relations of Europeans to the natives of the newly discovered countries, in the seventeenth century, were understood to be these. The European nations claimed a right, founded on civilization and Christianity, to establish settlements in this Western world, and asserted the ultimate dominion to be in themselves. But the natives were admitted to be the rightful occupants of the soil, with a legal as well as natural right to retain possession of it and to use it according to their own discretion. Their right however was restricted to possession; they were not admitted to have the right to dispose of the soil at their own pleasure, except to that European nation who claimed the ultimate dominion by right of discovery and settlement. In short, discovery and settlement gave the settlers a strict right of pre-emption; they could acquire a title by purchase, or by conquest, as they pleased, and they alone, or rather their government, could acquire it. These principles, however, were subject to one or two important qualifications. The right asserted was founded on the demands and necessities of civilization. It was thought to be unreasonable that any portion of mankind, who were not cultivators of the earth and exhibited no tendency or capacity to emerge from barbarism, should exclude other portions of mankind from vast tracts of the globe, fitted for cultivation and for the residence of civilized and Christian nations, by using those tracts for no other purposes than hunting and fishing, without recognizing any individual proprietorship in the soil. This was the doctrine of the age; and to any man who understood it as the claim of his age it was quite as manifest then, as it is now, that it could have no just and reasonable application to any but the nomadic tribes of natives, who did not cultivate the earth, and who had no such institution as individual proprietorship of the soil. When therefore the European right of discovery was asserted as a right to purchase or to con-

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quer the lands of such tribes, it could not be met with the answer that the lands were already in the hands of cultivators, or of persons claiming individual property in them, or that the sovereignty of the country was vested in a government, which claimed to be the protector of that cultivation and that right of private property. He who asserted a right of conquest over such a government, or a right to seize upon its sovereignty, must manifestly do it upon principles applicable to other sovereignties of a like kind, in one age as well as in another, whatever those principles were held to be. In short, he must have some justifiable cause of war.

One other qualification was attached to the relations between the discoverers and the natives, as soon as the former became colonists. A colony being founded, by asserting the right of civilized man to take possession of vacant and uncultivated parts of the earth, the colonists must either maintain their possession, or surrender its advantages and withdraw their families, leaving the country again a wilderness, or they must act upon such relations to the natives as were alone consistent with their stay in the country. With nomadic tribes, mere hunters and savage warriors, it was impossible for them to mix; it was equally impossible to govern them as a distinct people; and it was often found impossible to remain in their neighborhood, because it involved a perpetual exposure to violence and massacre. A rule adapted to the actual state of things was therefore unavoidable. The only practical rule was thought to be, to convert the discovery into a conquest; to treat the natives as a dependent and subordinate people, reserving to them the right peaceably to occupy the soil and to govern themselves, but claiming the ultimate fee of the country. Whatever force was necessary to put this rule in practice was considered just; but the very circumstances in which the rule had its origin point out the qualifications which belong to the rights asserted under it; namely, that the pretension of converting a discovery into a conquest was applicable only to the case of a colony actually founded among mere savages, with whom no other relations could be maintained.

Was there anything in the case of Cortés, as a Spaniard and a Catholic, which affords a justification for acting on

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principles different from these? If we look into the instructions given to him by Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, when he took command of the expedition, we learn that, after finding certain Christians supposed to be in the country, the great object of the expedition was barter with the natives, in pursuing which they were to be treated with kindness and humanity, and to be converted, if possible, to Christianity. He was to *invite* them to give in their allegiance to his own sovereign; and what is worthy of note, he was to acquaint himself with the natural products and features of the country, with the character of its different races, their institutions and progress in civilization, and to send home minute accounts of all these matters. It is evident from the whole tenor of this document, that the Spanish government meant to act upon grounds not materially different from those which they helped to establish as the European law of discovery. They intended to take possession of the country, with the usual formalities, and so as to be able to claim the qualified dominion which, as Europeans, they supposed was lawful, over such natives as they were likely to find. It was in fact an exploring expedition. Velasquez does not seem to have been informed with any accuracy, that his expedition was likely to encounter such a people and such an empire as Cortés afterwards found. The previous expedition under Grijalva had been sent out for the purpose of trading with the natives, and that captain, after touching at various points on the coast, had returned with accounts of a country very rich in natural productions and the precious metals, but with very vague notions of the empire of the Aztecs existing in the interior. With this uncertain knowledge of the country, and for these purposes, Velasquez fitted out the expedition of which he gave the command to Cortés.

As to any warrant for proceeding to seize on such a sovereignty as that of Mexico, which Cortés or any one else might find in the injunctions of the Pope to convert the heathen, it seems to us that he could not understand those injunctions in any other sense than was evidently given to them in the instructions of Velasquez. If his own government meant to act as if the Pope, by his injunction, could authorize and had authorized unlimited conquest, under all circumstances and in every mode and by every

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means, then he may be excused for acting upon the same deluded notion. But if, in the very commission under which he sailed, he was instructed only to trade, and was enjoined to treat the natives with scrupulous care and kindness, we think it is but just to the Spanish government to conclude, that they understood the duty to convert, or the right to reduce the natives to Christianity, to be applicable in general to the relations that might ensue between Europeans and the uncivilized tribes by whom they might be surrounded *after an establishment had been formed in the country.** It is, at any rate, remarkable, that the commission under which Cortés sailed from Cuba does not instruct him, on account of abominable heathen practices supposed to exist in a great empire, to effect its immediate subjugation by fire and sword, to the end that Christianity might extinguish the religion, even if it exterminated the people of the country. It is equally remarkable, that the instructions make no mention of such a person as Montezuma, or of any native government; "the Indians" are spoken of, and in one passage, Cortés is directed to ascertain *if any of them are Amazons.*

But this commission afforded altogether too narrow a scope for the ambitious designs of Cortés. He had not been long upon the coast, and had no sooner learned the nature and extent of the Mexican empire, the capital of which was seventy leagues from his camp, than he formed the design to take Montezuma dead or alive, or make him a subject of the throne of Spain.† "I have been desirous," he wrote to the Emperor, Charles V., "that your Highness should be informed concerning the affairs of this country, because as I have already mentioned in my former relation, such are its extent and importance, that the possession of it would authorize your Majesty to assume anew the title of Emperor, which it is no less worthy of conferring than Germany itself, which, by the grace of God, you already possess."‡ He resolved therefore to get rid of the restraints of his actual commission, which he well knew authorized

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* One of the instructions enjoins upon Cortés "great care to indoctrinate the Indians in the true faith, since this is the principal cause for which their Majesties permit these discoveries."

† *Despatches of Cortés*, by Folsom, p. 39.

‡ *Despatches of Cortés*, by Folsom, p. 38.

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no such proceeding as an attempt to seize on the sovereignty of a native government like that of Mexico. For this purpose he resorted to a legal fiction, of great ingenuity, but of a very thin substance. He went through the form of founding a city, over which he appointed civil magistrates from among his captains; he then resigned his commission to them, and received a new one from the new municipality as the immediate representatives of the crown of Spain. The partizans of Velasquez objected, as they well might, that the commission with which he had come into the country did not even authorize him to found a colony; but they were answered by the fiction, that a colony being founded *de facto*, in the name of the sovereign, its magistracy became *de jure* the representatives of the sovereign, in which capacity they had the power to remodel the whole objects of the expedition. With this fiction there is no better reason to believe that Cortés imposed upon himself, than he did upon Bernal Diaz, one of his followers, who wrote a quaint old gossipping chronicle of the Conquest fifty-seven years after the event. That shrewd individual saw through the flimsy veil into the real character of the whole proceeding; he was fully aware of the limited authority contained in the instructions of Velasquez, and he, with the other persons concerned in the affair of the new commission, hastened to excuse it by letter to the Emperor, upon the best terms they could. The whole affair, on the part of Cortés, was the bold movement of an adventurer, content to stake everything upon a cast of the die. If he succeeded in conquering Mexico and annexing it to the crown of Spain, he flattered himself that the unlawfulness of his proceedings would be lost in the dazzling splendor of the achievement. He was right in his calculation; but the result furnishes no proof that he was self-deceived with regard to the nature of his own acts.

For if we grant to Cortés all the zeal for his church or his king, that any one can claim for him, he knew that as a servant of the crown of Spain he could lawfully make conquests in its name only by a proper commission for that express purpose, emanating from competent authority. He knew that, without such a commission, he was going to attack a vast empire upon no plea of necessity, upon no ground of self-defence, and upon no demands of a civilization

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then extended to its borders and threatened by its power. He knew that in this attack he should expose the lives of every one of his followers, and that he must literally wade through slaughter to the throne of Montezuma, if he should ever reach it. It is true that the prince whom he was thus about to attack was a heathen and an idolater; but the people whose sovereignty this monarch held were by the law of nature a distinct and sovereign community, and that law was as well known to Cortés as to us.* They were a nation, in the fullest sense of the term, with a regular monarchy, a code of laws, a fixed and certain territory, and rigorously defined rights of property; of distinct orders, employments and trades, and cultivators of the soil, to which their title was as absolute as that of the Spanish people to their own domains in the peninsula. No where had European civilization, in the grand march of discovery then commenced, come in contact with such a people. No where had the Spanish or any other government applied principles or notions, that would warrant the bloody subjugation of such an empire without other provocation than the lust of dominion and gold.† It was a case of all others

* There is a fact on record, and well attested, which has strengthened our doubts upon the propriety of granting to Cortés so much indulgence, on account of the spirit of the age, as Mr. Prescott has accorded to him. When Pizarro, fifteen years afterwards, in imitation of Cortés's treatment of Montezuma, seized the Inca of Peru, he put him to death, after a mock trial, upon charges fabricated for the occasion. Several officers in Pizarro's own army, disgusted at this outrageous treatment of an independent prince, not only remonstrated, but protested against the conduct of their general, as disgraceful to their country, as a violation of public faith, and a usurpation of jurisdiction over a monarch whom he had no right to punish, even if guilty of what he alleged. These officers were of respectable families in old Spain, of about the same rank and condition as that of Cortés himself. They must have been bred in the same general notions with regard to the heathen, as he had been; they certainly were subject to the same influences of the age, in which his character had been formed; and they were surrounded in the army by the most profligate adventurers Spain ever sent forth, to conquer and desolate the new world. But they protested against this act of their chief, and the Spanish historians have preserved their names, in honor of their virtue. (See Robertson's History of America, Vol. x. Book vi.)

† We may refer in support of this assertion, to the whole tenor of the instructions given by Ferdinand and Isabella to Columbus, for his guidance in dealing with the Indians. They ordered him "to chastise, in the most exemplary manner, all who should offer the natives the slightest molestation." (See Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Vol. ii. p. 257–8.) It is true that the benevolent purposes of Isabella towards the Indians were afterwards defeated by her own subjects; but this fact does not weaken

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for express authority. If this had been granted, the wrong would now rest upon the government, instead of the captain, whose deeds and conquests it was subsequently and unrighteously induced to adopt and maintain. But there is not much reason to believe that the government would have granted the necessary authority, if rightly informed upon the subject. If any portion of the spirit of Isabella had descended to her grandson; if any minister of Spain remembered her pious tenderness for a distant race, over whose destiny the Providence of God had given her some control; if Las Casas had then begun to plead for "the Indians;" if there had been any public opinion in Europe; we can scarcely suppose that Charles V. would have ordered the conquest of Mexico, under all the circumstances in which it was commenced and achieved.

We have been anxious, in our remarks upon this topic, not to misrepresent the admirable and accomplished author, whose work has afforded us so great a fund of instruction and pleasure; and we would therefore treat very carefully his views of the resulting benefits to mankind, if we may so call them, which he points out as affording a qualified justification for the Conquest. It is the proper duty of the historian, thus to balance the account of good and evil involved in the actions he describes. It is the privilege of cultivated man, thus to unfold, in some degree, the great designs of Heaven. Standing at a remote point in the future to which the past has brought its rich accumulations, surveying all of the field of causes and events and consequences over which the human eye can ever range, accurately informed, impartial, and capable of judgment, he is strictly entitled to say what good has come out of evil, what vices and corruptions of the race or age that he describes seemed to need the purification of fire and the sword. But while he thus pronounces on the actual course of history, he does not necessarily assert that other trains of events and other actions of men might not have brought to pass as great or greater good; nor that the fraud and violence and cruelty

our position. It was the duty of her subjects to obey the spirit of her government. Their avarice, not their religious zeal, prevented their obedience. The same spirit marks the instructions of Velasquez to Cortés; a fact which shows that the government had not then adopted or sanctioned principles that would justify the deeds of Cortés.

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and cupidity of man were necessary agents in the benevolent plans of God. He means only to say, that over scenes of tremendous bloodshed and unutterable woe the dove of peace at last descended; and that among the consolations to which we may resort, from the contemplation of such scenes, is the fact that the religion of the cross supplanted a brutal superstition. Certainly it was beneficently ordered by Providence, that a land, in which human sacrifices by thousands stained the altars and debased the souls of a whole people, should be delivered over to another race. But we may admit all that can be said, and still wish that it were possible to write another history of the purification of that land.

We will not draw an argument from old Bernal Diaz, who sat down in his self-complacent manner to recite the good effects of the Conquest, and who tells us in his enumeration, that they, "the true conquerors," purged the land of its wickedness and evil customs, as for instance that of human sacrifice, *and introduced bull fights.* If a comparison were in point, we might admit that, as a national custom, bull fights are better than human sacrifices. But our feeling upon this point is one of deep regret that the Conquest ever took place, because it lost to the world the best opportunity ever presented, for engrafting Christianity, without the mischiefs and abuses of conquest, upon an aboriginal and ancient American civilization. It is quite clear, we think, that the Mexicans could have received the religion without first bending under the cruelest yoke of a European people, and becoming practically extinct as a race, and utterly extinct as a nation. Had Cortés chosen to follow out the letter and spirit of his instructions, a trading settlement would soon have been established by Spain on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. The same result which followed similar establishments by the French and English among the weak and unsettled tribes of hunters — the rapid decline of the savage before the civilized race — would not probably have occurred there; for the Mexican empire was powerful enough to have maintained amicable relations with a European colony, and its people were sufficiently advanced to have maintained the identity of their civilization against any contact with the whites, except that which brought in its train a conquest by force of arms. There is abundant

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proof of this in Mr. Prescott's account of them. Few such governments have ever had more power, in some respects, than that of Montezuma. The people, too, who exhibited such great proficiency in some of the main points of civilization, who had made such discoveries in science, who possessed such arts and resources, such a civil polity, and such a morality, as the Aztecs, and above all a people who could so fight for their country, cannot be placed upon a level with the weak and ignorant and incapable Indian hunters; nor can we justly compare the relative capacities of the two races to resist the mere power and superiority of European civilization, without deriving from it any benefits, when exhibited and exercised only in the circumstances of friendly contact and neighborhood.

The age when Cortés effected this conquest had some splendid agents for the work which we have imagined as possible. Las Casas was acquiring his title of "friend of the Indians." The great founder of the Jesuits also was meditating those vast schemes of missions, which his Society afterwards pushed into the remotest corners of the earth. Whatever may be thought of his or of any other plans for evangelizing heathen countries, without conquest, we maintain that the case of Mexico would have presented an unequalled opportunity for the experiment. Let the reader consider the whole of their condition, and he will find but one institution or custom among them, which needed immediate and uncompromising abolition.* This, of course, was the custom of human sacrifices and the cannibalism involved in it; and if we except this, we leave them in possession of just notions of the Deity and an extraordinary morality, unsurpassed out of Christendom. When we consider that this custom had existed in the land only two centuries, we may well suppose that its abolition would not have been impossible, if such relations had been established between them and the Christian world, as were practicable in every view that can be taken of the age. This people, or their predecessors in the land, had obviously possessed at some period a civilization far superior to what the Spaniards found among them. The existence of

* We do not include their polygamy, because it is an institution that may and should be borne with, wherever it is found, until the natural effect of Christianity leads to its gradual and certain extinction.

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a remote age, in which some ancient American people possessed an idea of the Supreme Being, rarely attained throughout the globe without revelation — the age when the great architectural monuments still extant in ruins were scattered over that portion of the continent — the age from which the known nations of the valley derived their science and all their best institutions — is attested by the condition in which the Aztecs were found. From this age and its better light they had wandered away. But who can say, if ideas and forms of a better civilization than their own had been gradually unfolded to their view, what reminiscences might not have been awakened, revealing to them their wanderings from their own former and better life? Who can say what suggestions might not have flashed through the mind of the nation, as it recognized in purer worship and more rational usages the familiar excellence that haunted its dreams from its youth of innocence and peace? One could weep — gazing into the melancholy eyes of Montezuma, or thrilled by the classic heroism of Guatimozin — one could weep over the fate of such a people; cut off from the earth, blotted out from the page of time, transmitting no name and fame in the pleasant course of history, to be worn and valued by a living nation, now passing along with us the great journey of nations and of men. They are gone, "no sons of theirs succeeding." But their fate is not single, and our regret is a most "unprevailing woe." The blow was struck upon them from which there was no recovery, and the ancient Mexican civilization, with all its possible results, disappeared. Yet one cannot but look wistfully upon the picture which the imagination will conjure up — the picture of an original civilization and a native American race, preserved, purified and expanded by the peaceful acquisition of Christianity.

We may repeat the reflection, that the fate of the nations of Anahuac is not single. On the day when He who made shall judge the world, there will stand at the bar of judgment, as accusers, the innumerable throngs of those races, who have suffered from the fraud or the errors of European civilization; and whom they will accuse, and with what justice, and what shall be the awful doom pronounced thereon, are speculations of fearful import. But one thing is clear; — that any doctrine — be it the authority of pope

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or potentate, or the demands of a proud and grasping civilization — which begins with asserting a right in one portion of mankind to dominion over another independent portion of the human race, for any ultimate object except self-defence, inevitably leads to atrocities and cruelties that know no other bounds than man's capacity for mischief. In this view, the demands and asserted necessities of civilization should be most strictly watched, for they may become no better plea than the authority set up for the popes of Rome. Not the least among the benefits which the work under our notice has conferred upon the age, is the astonishing illustration which it presents of a great race, crushed beneath the iron heel of a remorseless conquest, upon a fiction of right, which fills all future ages with wonder and indignation.

We must leave this fascinating work; — but not without some remarks upon the style in which it is written. It has reached a beautiful and appropriate style for such a subject. The preliminary essay is written with the proper dignity of learning, but with none of the coldness and formality of a learned treatise on antiquities. The narrative and descriptive parts of the Second Book are eminently happy. We have been delighted by the copious felicity and elegance of the language, and the beauty of the descriptions. As a piece of writing, the artistic excellence of the work challenges our highest admiration. In passages where the change became appropriate, the pen in the author's hand has become the historic pencil. The whole of the march to Mexico is full of paintings, warmly colored, but not exaggerated, from the time when he leads the Spaniards through the *tierra caliente*, "the land where the fruits and the flowers chase one another in unbroken circle through the year," to the morning when they are received by Montezuma, surrounded by his gaudy court, into his strangely interesting capital. In the course of this march, the author, taking advantage of the descent of the Spaniards from the mountains, has drawn a gorgeous picture of the valley, as it broke upon the sight, stretched out beneath their feet, with its waters, woodlands, cultivated plains, its shining cities and shadowy hills, in the light of an American sun, pouring through the clearest atmosphere on the globe. If the reader will analyze this, or

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some of the other descriptive passages — and they will bear analysis — he will find that, though marked by no accumulated notes of erudition, they have not been spread upon the page without labor. In the composition of such passages many of the rare accomplishments and finest faculties of the historian are brought into requisition. He must make a skilful selection of actual circumstances, from contemporaneous accounts; he must imbibe the feelings and impressions of all the witnesses of such a scene, who yet testify in what they have written, though death has sealed their mortal lips ages ago. Having descended minutely to geography, he must rise to poetry; and with the flight of a vigorous imagination, must place himself on the spot whence he is to describe the glories of a scene, which, to natural beauty, added, in the eyes of those who beheld it as its discoverers, the hues of their own excited feelings. This Mr. Prescott has done, with a vividness and beauty, which place him, in our opinion, among the first descriptive writers of the age. Freely, too, and naturally, the most successful epithets and allusions flow from his easy pen, marking both the gaiety and the richness of his mind. That he should have preserved, through the toil that is manifest in his faithful notes, through his researches in book and manuscript and hieroglyphic lore, the spirit that sparkles along his text, illuminating his page and charming his reader and relieving himself, is abundant cause for the warmest congratulation and thanks, as we take a reluctant leave of him. It is, however, we trust, no final leave, that we here take, of one who has become so chief a literary benefactor of his country.

G. T. C.

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Art. VI. — LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DR. GREENWOOD.*

Since the notice of Dr. Greenwood's "Sermons of Consolation," in our number for March, 1843, both the author of the sermons, and the writer of the notice, Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., have passed away from the earth. They had both contributed liberally to the pages of this journal, and at different times been connected with it as editors. Both held a distinguished rank, in our denomination, as writers and preachers. Unlike in many respects, as two men well could be, in their mental constitutions and general tastes and habits, they yet possessed, in common, peculiar simplicity and directness of character and manners, a deep and filial piety, and great integrity and truthfulness, and they shed around them, each in his different sphere, a beautiful and holy light. Neither of them, since the period of early manhood at least, enjoyed firm health; the labors of both were repeatedly interrupted by debilitating illness, and both sank to their graves in the midst of their usefulness, and the full meridian of their fame.

On taking up the volumes of Dr. Greenwood now before us, our minds revert with a melancholy interest to him whose image they so vividly recal. The sketch of his life, furnished by his friend and parishioner, Mr. S. A. Eliot, certainly cannot be charged with exaggerating his merits. It rather falls below the truth than exceeds it. Still, we can readily appreciate the writer's delicacy, if shrinking from what might appear fulsome and extravagant panegyric, which so often and sadly mars performances of this kind, he has drawn too modest a picture of his friend's worth. In the following article, by a contributor to our journal, the object of the writer has been to view the incidents of Dr. Greenwood's life chiefly in connection with his writings, and with the development of his peculiar traits of mind and character. Necessarily more brief than the biographical notice by Mr. Eliot, it yet contains a memorial of one whose connexion with the Examiner makes us especially desirous that some record of his life should be found upon its pages. — Eds.

* *Sermons by Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D., Minister of King's Chapel, Boston.* Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1844. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 340, and 390.

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Francis William Pitt Greenwood was born in Boston in 1797, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1814. He went unstained through his College course, but without giving promise of his future distinction. His theological studies were also pursued at Cambridge. The sudden blaze of his reputation as a preacher in 1817 and 1818 was, as it is well recollected, matter of surprise to many, and it was "with delight at least equal to their surprise," in the language of his biographer, that the public "hailed this new guide, suddenly springing up to take the place of the loved and the honored who were removed from before them." He was settled over the New South Church, in Boston, in October 1818; but scarcely had a year passed away, before an attack of bleeding from the lungs interrupted his labors, begun under peculiarly happy auspices, and by the advice of physicians he passed the winter of 1820—21 in Devonshire, in England, being too feeble to proceed to Italy. While abroad, his hope of restoration to health became so slight as to induce him to request a dissolution of his pastoral connexion. He returned in the autumn of 1821, and passed the winter, and the greater part of the two or three subsequent years, in Baltimore. There he became editor of the Unitarian Miscellany, a work which had been begun by Mr. Sparks, and which exerted an important influence in the cause of religious liberty. His health becoming improved, he occasionally also preached.

His writings thus far are, we think, less rich than those of later years. There is a nameless charm, an invisible something, which makes all the difference in the world between two compositions containing the same ideas. We turn from the one as without attraction, while through the other we are drawn on as by some secret harmony. We cannot tell why it is, but our feelings are touched; a new influence is with us. As on the same instrument, and by playing the same tune, which in its faultless execution had failed to move us, the soul of some great performer throws itself into our souls, and imparts to us its own kindling enthusiasm, so by the same thoughts, and almost by the same words, one writer will only weary us, while another finds his way into our very hearts, and moves us at his will. In this respect, we think that we feel a great difference

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between the earlier and later writings of Mr. Greenwood, as, for instance, between the first two sermons in the volumes before us, and the sermon called "The Meditations of Mary," or "Church Registers."

His writings, while in Baltimore, were, from his position, mostly of a controversial character. They are full of keenness and spirit. We might take, as a specimen of his more pointed style, and as an answer to a charge which still continues to be repeated, an article in the fourth volume of the Unitarian Miscellany. It is in reply to the assertion that the Unitarian faith "consists in not believing," — a charge that may be brought by any sect against those who do not believe with them. To illustrate this, he supposes a Roman Catholic to meet a Calvinist or an Episcopalian, and after learning that he does not believe in the supremacy of the Pope, the worship of images or the doctrine of transubstantiation, to exclaim with astonishment, "What, for heaven's sake, then, do you believe? Your creed seems to consist in not believing." So a Mahometan, after questioning this same Catholic, strokes down his beard, and looking exceeding wise and solemn, exclaims, "Indeed, you are in a bad way; your faith, may Allah in his great mercy enlighten it! is nothing more than not believing."

"Our opinion on this subject," the writer concludes, "is, that the value of a creed is to be determined rather by its practical efficacy, than by its length or its breadth; and that if a man could have but one article of faith instead of thirty-nine or five hundred, and this one article should teach him to love and obey his Maker, and prepare himself for a better world, his creed would be long enough. But whatever it may be which Unitarians do *not* believe, we can tell our Orthodox brethren what we *do* believe, and what our creed is. We believe in the Holy Scriptures, and take for the articles of our faith all the doctrines which they can be proved to contain and inculcate. *The Bible is our creed.* If the Orthodox have a longer one, we advise them to shorten it; and till they are able to convince us that our belief is opposed by the Bible, they had better not, for their own credit, tell us again that it consists in not believing."

The Memoir of Rev. S. C. Thacher, prefixed to the volume of his sermons, was prepared about this time,

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and is, in some respects, not inferior to any of Mr. Greenwood's writings. There are few more beautiful biographical sketches. It deserves to be bound up, as it has been, with Ware's Life of Abbot, and with that to be preserved as a fitting memorial of youthful piety and early death, — so lovely when united, and so fragrant the memory they leave behind. Well may he, who has been sanctified by their presence, come, as a ministering angel, to quicken the devotions and inspire with holier and better thoughts the breasts of those who are still upon the earth.

Mr. Greenwood remained in Baltimore till the summer of 1824. He had now gone through five years of sickness, labors interrupted, hopes deferred, and some of his brightest expectations wholly extinguished. Yet he was cheerful and not unhappy. The love of nature, connected as it was so closely in him, with poetry and science, was a great resource; and wherever he was, he found, or rather made to himself, friends. And besides, notwithstanding his weakness, he was able to do much for the cause that was nearest to his heart, and to see it prospering as by the blessing of God. But beyond all these, or rather running through them all, and giving to them their peculiar interest and glory, was a spirit of piety, growing deeper and stronger with each new disappointment and sorrow. Through this he drew from nature and from books, but, above all, from the one Book, a cheering and sustaining influence, which otherwise he might have sought in vain, though with tears.

"We have known," he says, "something of the trials of sickness. We can say with feeling, that at such periods of sorrow, when our flesh was failing, and our spirit was bowed down, the sweet words and trusting piety of one of the Psalms, in almost any translation, or the affectionate devotion and immortal promise, breathing in our Saviour's last discourses and prayers with his disciples, have afforded us strength and consolation which no critical aids could have increased. It was of little consequence to us, at those times, how the Jews wore their phylacteries, or sat at their meals, or built their tombs. These were subjects which did not enter our minds. We only knew that we had listened to words which were better than any other words; that we had heard a voice from heaven, and were comforted. We felt that there was something in THE BOOK, which was to be found in no other book; something which distinguished it from

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other books; something independent, and requiring not the aid of adventitious learning. We sympathized anew in the spirit of these well-known verses: —

"A man of subtle reasoning asked
A peasant, if he knew,
Where was the *internal evidence*
That proved his Bible true.

"The terms of disputative art
Had never reached his ear,
He laid his hand upon his heart,
And only answered, '*Here!*'"

By this interval of release from ministerial labors Mr. Greenwood's health was so far restored, that in the autumn of 1824 he accepted an invitation to become associate minister with Rev. Dr. Freeman, at King's Chapel in this city, the place in which he had first been taught to join in public worship. The proposition for his settlement was made and accepted with the mutual understanding, that, on account of his health, a part of the severer duties of a clergyman should not be demanded of him. He was inducted into office on Sunday, August 29, himself preaching the sermon, while the other services of the occasion were performed by the senior minister and the wardens of the church. After the year 1827 he became, in fact, sole pastor of the society. Here his path was one of constant, but cheerful, quiet and unostentatious labor. He was, however, rather a preacher than a pastor, and did more for his parishioners in the study and the pulpit than at their homes. Yet, when we consider the peculiar delicacy, if not fastidiousness, of his taste, together with the influence of his situation and his almost uninterrupted debility, we are surprised that he was able to accomplish so much.

He labored, in various ways, "to improve the services" of his church. In 1827, he published a new and improved edition of its Liturgy. "He took a deep interest in the music of the church, and contributed much towards the improvement that was effected in it." In 1828, he published his "Lives of the Apostles," and in 1830, his "Collection of Hymns," which has been extensively adopted in our churches. These were followed, in 1833, by the publication of his discourses on the "History of King's Chapel."

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A series of sermons, addressed to the children of his congregation, were also given to the public after their delivery from the pulpit. From the beginning of 1831 to July, 1835, and from January, 1837 to the early part of the year 1839, he was associated with Dr. Walker in the editorship of the Christian Examiner.

His published writings during this period were numerous and on a great variety of subjects; and we might select from them specimens of rare and varied excellence. There is sometimes a singular felicity of expression, as when he speaks of Charles Wesley's hymns being "distinguished by devotional feeling, harmonious numbers, and *an indescribable impulse of heart which sets through them like a stream.*" So in speaking of Dr. Bowring's selections from the poetry of different nations, he says: "The speed of his travelling is exemplary. From the snows of Russia, he is away, in an instant, to the olive-yards of Spain; then back to the fens and flats of Holland; again, over the hills to Servia; *next, to poor divided Poland, to hear what they have to sing to him there.*" How in this single line does he bring before us the whole sad history, and let us in to the private griefs, of that unhappy country, which has so often been the prey of the spoiler. And how in a word does he describe Raphael's Madonna, "looking with those mild eyes *which rather think than look!*"

To those who saw Mr. Greenwood only in public, it might seem strange that he should be a lover of fun; but many are the happy turns of expression, particularly in his smaller articles, that show the gleeful spirit, which neither the solemnity of his public duties, nor the pressure of disease had been able to extinguish, which loves to dwell in the joyful out-courts of a healthy devotion, and which, in private intercourse, made his society so grateful to his friends. His reviews, as, for example, his review of Wordsworth's Poems, written at a time when they were seldom spoken of among us, except to cause a smile or a sneer, and more especially his review of Milton's prose works, will, as literary productions, compare not unfavorably with any of their associates in the North American Review. As a clear, full and exact statement of facts, without the parade of learning, yet furnishing its best results on the subject of which it treats, we would refer to his article in

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the Examiner on "The New Testament conformed to Griesbach's standard Greek Text;" while as a graceful review of a good man's life, his notice, in the same Journal, of William Roscoe might be held up almost as a perfect model. How like a requiem over the dead are its closing remarks: "Thus passed away from earth one of those whom it does our souls good to remember, and still more good to imitate; one of those lovers of their brethren and lovers of God, whose lives we shall always take delight in recording, and whose names shine so purely above those which have only dazzled and deluded the world." In respect to his essays on nature and natural science, we can, in their spirit, if not literally, apply to him the words which he has applied to another who like him was a lover of nature and of God: "What pleasant scenes of far away solitudes, and silent and sunny lakes, and light canoes, and cool summer sailing, are here brought before the mind. What a pure spring of kindly piety must have been gushing in the heart of the writer, when he penned those beautiful paragraphs. We will sail with him, and with such as he is, on the great voyage of discovery and knowledge, and let others, if they will, commit themselves to the guidance of those blind pilots who tempt the dark vortices of chance and Atheism."

But he had more important duties than those which connected him with literature and science. He was brought up amid a great and violent controversy on the weightiest subjects that belong to man. And he shrunk not from the contest. He believed in, and earnestly maintained, the utility of such discussions. There are some strong remarks on this subject in his Memoir of Thacher. In his review of Milton's prose works he has uttered himself in words almost worthy of that great champion of Christian liberty and truth.

"He (Milton) plunged into the mid-battle of political and theological controversy, as if it were at once his place and his privilege to contend for the rights of mankind. Though he loved peace, he loved truth more; he loved the souls of men; 'which is the dearest love, and stirs up to the noblest jealousy.' He preferred his duty before his rest. He knew the toil and danger which awaited him; but he knew also that he had taken his part in 'the race where that immortal garland is to be run

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for not without dust and heat.' His great soul was in itself open and gentle as day, and in gentler times would not have appeared in so warlike a guise. He would willingly have framed his measures to the concords of peace; but, to use again his own matchless speech, 'when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal.' The voice of duty, and the testimony of conscience, were to him the command of God; he did take the trumpet, and blow a blast 'of which all Europe rang from side to side;' a blast which even yet is not silent, but has come echoing down from year to year to us of the present, and will still go sounding on, clear-toned and thrilling, through the unknown depths of future time, and from region to region of the globe, till nations shall hear and be roused up, that now are dead, and the heart of the whole world shall beat, like the heart of a single champion, at the summons of truth and liberty."

In another place he says: —

"We believe that what measure of Christian charity there is in the world has been mainly produced by controversy; has been wrung from the mighty and predominant bodies of Christendom by the opposition, the resistance, the reasonings, and proofs steadfastly and perseveringly displayed by those who first had the courage to examine for themselves, and then the far greater courage to declare the results of their examination."

Such were his views on this subject; and as he preached, so he practised. He engaged manfully and earnestly in the great struggle for religious liberty; for the supreme and undivided authority of the Scriptures in matters of faith. But controversy was his strange work, performed from a sense of duty, never as a labor of love. He never sacrificed his catholic spirit, but gladly acknowledged as Christian brethren those who led a Christian life, though their theological opinions might lead them to exclude him from the fellowship of the saints, and he gratefully received, from whatever quarter it might come, any real contribution to science, literature or devotion.

"A good book of practical piety," he says, in a notice of 'Owen on Spiritual-mindedness,' "is at all times profitable and pleasant to a mind of any seriousness, but never more grateful, perhaps, than when it is taken up after the mind has been engaged in the warfare of conflicting doctrines and opinions. It

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comes like the news of peace. It refreshes the spirits like the soft evening of a glaring day; or as we trust that heaven will refresh them after the pilgrimage of this sandy life. We say not a word against the usefulness of discussion. The warfare must be accomplished. We stand at our post, and shall not forsake it. While there are mighty errors in the field we must go out against them. But we know and feel and have always said, that there are some things, and those the best things, about which all Christians are substantially agreed. We enjoy the feeling of brotherhood, the certainty that there exist the foundations of a universal Christian connexion, placed so deep and strong in the nature of our common faith, as to be out of the reach of the most violent commotions, which have disturbed, or can disturb, the peace of the Church. Such has been the character of our sentiments on the perusal of this treatise, in its new, and, as we think, improved form. It was written by an Orthodox vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, and is abridged by the Orthodox President of the Seminary at Andover; and yet we sincerely recommend it to our friends and readers, in the belief that the study of it can only do them good; in the hope that it may invigorate and assist their efforts after spiritual-mindedness, and without a fear that it will make them at all more Orthodox than we would wish them to be."

In this spirit he speaks of the poems of Keble and of Heber, Watts and Doddridge, Charles Wesley and Montgomery, and in this spirit he begins and closes his remarks on the remains of the Rev. Charles Wolfe; "a man," he says, "whom, though when alive, he might not have wished for our fellowship, and could not have approved of our religious opinions, we yet gladly recognize as a member of the true, liberal, holy and apostolical church, gathered from all sects and denominations, countries and climes under the broad heaven."

Again, he was a believer in human progress, and labored according to his ability in what he believed the real work of human advancement. He loved to dwell upon the past, and was peculiarly alive to the associations that gather with departing centuries around monuments of art, the faith and institutions of man. The great doctrines of Christian truth, precious in themselves, were yet more precious to him from their connection with apostles and martyrs and holy men of old, and came to him enriched by their affections, tears, and prayers, and blood. He had therefore little fellow-feeling with those who adopt their opinions, as an *exquisite*

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his dress, only according to the latest patterns. Novelty had no recommendations for him, and on the great subjects of moral and religious concern awakened more of suspicion than of interest in his mind. It was surprising that truths so important should have lain undiscovered so long. But on the other hand age gave no charm to falsehood. Though hoar with all the frosts of all the ages, he could see nothing engaging in that which marred the serene simplicity of truth.

"Neither," says he, "do we esteem falsehood as in the least degree more venerable, because it is a hundred, or a thousand years old. We only think it a pity that it should have lived so long." "Perhaps there has been no age since the world was established as the abode of man, so generally confident of progress, and so full of anticipations of further advancement as our own. This voice of the age, feeble and stifled in many regions of the earth, rings out with an earnest distinctness from those districts in which mankind are the most intelligent and free, enjoying the greatest share of light and the greatest liberty to make use of it. Never was voice so loud, so united, so cheering. We join in it with all our strength. It is to us the voice of reason and truth. It is our nature proclaiming its origin and its destiny; it is experience holding high converse with futurity; it is deep calling unto deep. For melancholy auguries we have no faith; and for the outcry against innovation no reverence. We hold courage to be wisdom, and confidence to be true philosophy. We do not doubt, nor fear."

Still he did not join in every scheme that was offered for the improvement of the world. Where there is the most genuine, there will also be the most spurious, coin. Where there was the real gift of tongues, there were also unnumbered pretenders, and many who in their excessive zeal ignorantly supposed themselves divinely endowed. So when any great and noble design has taken hold of the general mind and roused all its enthusiasm, there is need of unusual care, lest we should mistake the babblings of man for the voice of God, the schemes of intemperate excitement for the measures which are to move the heart of the world and carry it forward. This prudence was a distinguishing trait in Mr. Greenwood's character, particularly as it regards what are called the great philanthropic and speculative movements of the day. He could not

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sympathize with those, who, while they believe that the past has left to us no dower, would in their haste to make all things perfect, leave nothing for the future to do.

"We are too apt," he says, "to become impatient, when we cannot see favorite opinions confirmed in our own life-time. Our own life-time is but a moment; is but a single beat of the pendulum which measures out the solemn and majestic progress of the ages. We must not attach so much importance to the period of our life. The epochs of mind and morals must be regarded in conjunction with the life of our world." "With all our advantages as a nation, we have sore temptations, temptations which are all the more powerful and to be feared, as they arise mainly from those very advantages. Our circumstances urge us to hastiness in all things. We are all the time on the race. We race after riches, and multitudes are thrown out and crippled. We race after distinction and station in life, and many are prematurely broken down. We race in travelling from one part of our country to another, and explosions on the river and wrecks on the sea proclaim the dismal consequences. We race after changes and reforms, after new philosophies and new religions, before we have appropriated half the benefits, or learned half the wisdom of the established and old; and confusion and irritation attend the course. Some among us are seriously sick of all this racing, and would fain give up something of our presumed progress, and a great deal of our talk about progress, for a little more safety and a little more quietness. We are not losing our hope in the permanent interests of our country, nor our honest pride in our free and religious institutions, nor our faith in the general good sense and final success of our countrymen; but we are occasionally losing our patience at the recklessness which assumes the name of advancement, at the crudities which are flourished before our eyes as wisdom, and at the many abuses which are committed of fair opportunity and ample freedom."

These two aspects of thought are perfectly consistent, and must be united in a sound mind and with a strong heart, before we can be thoroughly furnished for every good word and work. Without this union we must be either the slaves of a trembling conservatism, or bound to the scythe-armed chariot of a savage spirit of innovation. He who with the great idea of progress and yet with a true wisdom would instruct his fellow-men must adapt his teachings to their wants, and will therefore under different circumstances seem to give directions entirely different,

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and thus to lean in different ways. The monument of granite presses most strongly now against the East and now against the West, according to the direction from which the violent storm comes, while with steadfast look it stands all the time pointing to the sky. Or to take a comparison more in keeping with the spirit of progress, the steam-ship will now lie in the harbor, now outstrip and then breast the storm, and go through these various changes because the intelligence that directs her is steadfastly bent on accomplishing the one great purpose of the voyage, lying by when it is the time to lie by, taking advantage of favoring winds when it may, and when it must, driving against both wind and tide. So it is with him who would carry out the best purposes of life or promote the real objects of society, whether he labor on a large or a small scale. The timid will at times reproach him for rashness, and at times the rash will reproach him with unmanly fears. It was so with Washington. It was so with Channing. And in a different sphere, the lot of Greenwood was the same; and very much for the same reasons; because he chose to act from his own wise convictions, and not to be borne away upon the current, or by the breeze of the hour.

We do not, of course, mean to maintain that he was always right; that when his habits of life were fixed, and long debility, with all the little indulgencies that must attend it, had made him sensitive and delicate, and he had seen great promises attended so often by small results, he was not, at times, too impatient of change and novelty. It was natural that he should withdraw more and more from the fluctuating elements of the world to the unchanging principles of eternal truth; and that he should dwell upon them, and even upon the elegant studies of literature and taste, to the exclusion of those more active measures which in strong health he might not as a faithful minister neglect. But let any of us, who may be disposed to condemn, consider how much, notwithstanding those twenty years of constant physical infirmity, he actually did accomplish, and compare it with what we have done.

We have dwelt the longer on this topic, from an impression which many have, that during his latter years there was something morbid in his dread of change; and that he kept himself too much aloof from the leading questions and

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measures of the day. True, he was not fitted to do the work of a Channing, or a Tuckerman. But could they do his? Enough, if each performed his own work, and proved faithful to the talents and the trust which God had given him.

But we have hardly spoken of him except in his more public and accidental relations. His great office of joy, affection and success was that of a Christian minister. They who saw his pale and serious, but cheerful and apostolic look in the pulpit; they who remember his rich, melodious voice, so calm and unimpassioned, discoursing of trials and of faith, the beauty of early piety and the peace that crowns a long life of devotion, or as he spoke to the mourners, in their mourning, of the love of God and his Son, will not fail to remember that there was the place which Heaven had assigned as his peculiar sphere of influence and labor. There were those who had no personal acquaintance with him, and knew him only in his public ministrations, who at the news of his departure, wept that they should hear his voice no more. While he lived, his strength was given to his sermons. Through them chiefly he spoke to the hearts and souls of men. And now that he is gone, though the absence of the living countenance and voice must take much from their effect, through them chiefly will he continue to speak to the hearts and souls of men.

His great and peculiar office was preaching. To that his main strength was given. But he needed relaxation, and as a refreshment to body and mind was obliged to engage in other things; and it is interesting to see how they were all made to minister to this, how they quickened his devotions, and furnished new materials for religious meditation. He looked on nature with a deeply religious spirit; and saw insect, leaf and ocean as if they were children of God, discoursing to him of a divine wisdom and a Father's love. Hence some of his sermons are like anthems of nature. The sermon, for instance, on the Eternity of God, — it is years since we read it, — but it comes up to our mind now like the mysterious sound, that we heard among the mountains in our childhood, or the everlasting surgings of the sea.

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During his ministry Mr. Greenwood was subject to repeated attacks of his old disease, and in 1837 he visited Cuba, from which he returned somewhat invigorated. He continued to write and to preach a portion of the time till May, 1842, when he was once more attacked by bleeding, and reduced to a state of extreme debility. From this time, though he enjoyed the exercise of riding, he was mostly confined to his study, and employed himself in preparing and issuing his volume of "Sermons of Consolation," published in the autumn of 1842.

These sermons will, we believe, longer than any other of his writings preserve his name and memory. By his severe trials and his deep religious experience he was well fitted to prepare such a volume. "Let me not," he says, "be so dull and cold-hearted, as to pass by the hours which were consecrated to a close and filial communion with our Father in heaven; the hours when we felt the burthen of mortality taken off, and our souls left light and free; when we breathed a better atmosphere, and saw with a clearer vision, because the air of another world was around us, and the clouds of doubt had vanished away." He whose life has been made better and his heart drawn to God by an experience like this, is prepared to receive and to administer consolation. He cannot be wholly cast down by the sorrows of our mortal condition. He has an inward life, the life of God in the soul, into which he may retire and feel that his choicest treasures are not and cannot be taken away. The great concerns of religion, its immortal hopes and joys, which can never be felt as near realities by the unregenerate, come home to his dearest sympathies and experience. For within him have been unfolded the affections from which must flow the pure and serene enjoyments of heaven; not an earthly love founded on the relations of society or our physical organization, but the holy affections which unite the soul to God, to Jesus and the spirits of the just.

This preparation, this change of heart, this turning of the affections from earth to heaven, is the one essential condition, without which we cannot receive religious consolation, not though an angel should come down to comfort us. Our griefs may wear away. We may amuse ourselves with speculations on death and the condition of the

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departed. But we are not prepared to receive into our hearts, with all their consoling influence, even the truths which relate to immortality and the future reunion of friends; far less those which relate to the present and immediate communion of the soul with God, by which from beneath the deepest sorrow a yet deeper joy springs up, and strength and life are given to the way-worn and disheartened.

This preparation of the heart through him who is "the way, the truth and the life," is the only manner in which we can approach the temple of God, where his mercies and his consolations are dispensed, and the pursued and stricken soul finds a refuge from its sorrows. It is the recognition of this fact, if we mistake not, though it is not expressed, that gives to the "Sermons of Consolation" their peculiar value. They contain indeed views of immortality which appeal to the understanding, and views of death which take away from the physical horrors which, by darkening the imagination, scare us with visions and make death the "king of terrors." But it is rather by that faith which would lead us as little children to our Father in heaven, to give our hearts and our affections to him, that they would prepare us for a cheerful submission to all the dispensations of his providence. It is by inducing us to walk with Jesus, to cherish him as our divine Master, our Redeemer and Friend, till we are transformed into his image, and his spirit has become ours, that they would take away the sting of death, and its victory from the grave. Through the change that is wrought within us, and the growth of new affections, all quietly it may be, as by the sun and falling dews, the world loses its dominion over us, we cheerfully give up our friends that they may go to their Father and to ours, and when death has laid his hand on us, not more by a law of its nature does the body return to the dust from which it came, than the spirit, as by the affinity of its own purified affections, is drawn up to God who gave it.

This view of his subject may not have presented itself distinctly to Dr. Greenwood in preparing his volume; and yet we seem to perceive something of it in the arrangement of the parts. First, there is placed before us a general view of this our human condition, — a condition of Sorrow and Joy; then succeed four sermons on God, the Incomprehensible,

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the All-Powerful, the Guardian of Souls, and the miserable Folly of not believing in Him; then they would bring us into the House of the Lord, that we may dwell there all the days of our life. When thus living in God, we are prepared to look on the great vicissitudes of our moral condition, to view Death as an Appointment of God, in his own good Time, to go to the House of Mourning, and there receive the Consolations of Religion, and bless God in our Bereavement, while the Remembrance of the Righteous Dead comes as a real presence around us. But how shall we attain this? Are we sufficient of ourselves? We can do Nothing without Christ. His Kingdom cannot pass away. Through his spirit, his example, his sufferings and death, we are carried on to higher and brighter visions, and prepared to know again our Friends beyond the grave, and to hear Voices from heaven, saying unto us, Come up hither. And how sweetly does the volume close with the sermon on Peaceful Sleep, and then the thoughts on Christ suggested by the words: "Abide with us; for it is toward evening and the day is far spent!"

They are indeed sermons of consolation, and may well be "sought for by mourners in the days of their mourning." Happy they, who, by turning early to God and tasting the joys of pious affections and a life of prayer, before the evil days have come, are thus prepared to receive, in times of tribulation, all the consolations of our most holy faith.

But we must qualify our remarks. These sermons are not fitted for all minds, nor to meet every kind of sorrow. With respect to the great subject on which we have spoken, change of heart, they need some sterner prophet to go before them, crying out, as in the wilderness of life, "Repent, prepare ye the way of the Lord, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." They do not answer the questionings of a powerful intellect; nor recognize the fearful strugglings through which the soul is sometimes called to pass, before it can give up all and follow Jesus. And in what they say of Christ we are not quite satisfied. We feel as if their philosophy were not broad and deep enough to take in as it ought the mysteries of the Saviour's kingdom, and his influence on man. We are melted by what they say; we come away soothed, instructed and refreshed; but without the profound repose with which we turn from

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the Gospels themselves. Compared with them, they are — and what human compositions must not be? — but as the attempts of man by instruments of his own to represent the moon, planets, sun, and all the order of the stars; whose beauty, whose majestic march, and the infinite depths through which they go, cannot be brought down to us. These are what human machinery, nay, they are what the Principia of Newton, and the poetry of Milton even cannot fully express. But though, in representations such as are here given of the Saviour, what is gained in distinctness is lost in grandeur, a truly pious soul — and it certainly is so here — throws its own beautiful spirit into its works, and by its influence on our hearts atones in some measure for the imperfect views it may offer to our minds.

It was the intention of Dr. Greenwood, had sufficient strength remained, to have prepared one or more additional volumes of discourses for publication. But in the summer of 1843 he found himself gradually sinking, and was compelled to relinquish his purpose. His mind, however, continued calm and cheerful to the last. He expired, with little suffering, on the morning of the second of August, after a night of quiet slumber.

So passed away our brother, in whom the elements of a strong and beautiful and loving nature were most happily combined. Materials so rich and various are seldom united in proportions so harmonious. Where one quality seemed just going into excess, its opposite virtue came in and straightway they were joined as brethren in one. So it was with his fidelity to his own religious convictions and his kindness towards others. While in Devonshire, he worshipped in a small and despised chapel, and not in "the noble church of the establishment that reared its grey tower in the neighborhood." "I went there," he says, "while I remained, and should have done so had I remained till this time. I have no idea of deserting our friends, because they assemble under simple thatch, instead of under groined stone; — though I also think, that I should have been cheerfully willing to pay my tithes, for the pleasure of looking at that old church, and walking through that old church-yard." Whatever may have been the fact in early life, — and a character of so much strength is not often formed from a tame and pliant nature, — in his later years we

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could not meet him without feeling, that here was one whose soul, subdued by a large experience of disappointment and success, had been taught the true value of earth and heaven; willing gratefully to enjoy the one, but looking forward to the loftier joys that lie beyond. There was no approach to eccentricity, and yet his individuality was perfect; everything that belonged to him, his ideas, his style and modes of thought, so rich and yet marked by a simplicity so severe, his countenance, his voice, were peculiarly his, all harmonious, and giving a oneness of impression to whatever came from his lips. And how much of a profound religious emotion, too full of the peace of God to strive or cry, did they all, in their still serenity, combine to express. His last hours were the fitting close of such a day; and more than once were they, whose privilege it was to "converse with his prepared soul," reminded of him "whose face," as death drew nigh, "was as it had been the face of an angel." What he has left behind are only remains of what he was; "but," to use the words which he applied to another, "they are the remains of a pure and beautiful mind, graceful fragments of a temple, which must have been a worthy sanctuary of the spirit of God."

Of the two new volumes of his discourses we have little room left to speak. We find in them a much greater variety of topics than in the "Sermons of Consolation." Some of the discourses are at least equal to any in the former volume; they are all marked by the same general features; but, as a whole, will not, we think, be found so interesting. Still we would gladly recommend them to our readers, sure that wherever they are read, they must do good. Two or three extracts from them will conclude our present article. We shall take them from sermons which were among the last which the author wrote, five of which bearing date, 1842, are found at the close of the second volume. These sermons are particularly interesting, not as furnishing the best specimens of Dr. Greenwood's peculiar style of pulpit eloquence, but as showing those views of Christianity on which his mind dwelt with growing fondness as his life was silently wearing away, and he was conscious of his near approach to the eternal world. The subjects principally treated in them, are the Preaching and Addresses of

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Paul and the other Apostles, and the testimony of the Epistles, relating to the Resurrection.

The following is from the discourse on St. Paul's sermon at Antioch in Pisidia, recorded in Acts xiii.

"Can there be any question with regard to the main doctrine of the Apostle's discourse? Is it not, without question, the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus? And this is the point to which I would direct your serious notice. Here is a sermon by the active and zealous Paul, the first of his which has come down to us, preached in a gentile city, to an assembly of Jews and proselytes to Judaism, preached for the express purpose of impressing and converting that assembly, and yet not a word said in it, not a word, of doctrines which have since been represented as absolutely essential to Christianity, and to be received on pain of eternal misery. Here is a sermon, preached with an apostle's knowledge, an apostle's inspiration, and an apostle's earnestness, and with the avowed object of turning the hearers to the faith and religion of Christ; and the essential doctrine, the converting doctrine, and indeed the only proper doctrine which is presented in it, is that of the resurrection of Jesus. And it is so presented, in such strong and various lights, as to leave no doubt of the station which it occupied in the preacher's mind." * * *

"So preached St. Paul at Antioch. I assume the correctness of his preaching. I assume that he preached well and intelligently the Christian faith. And most certain it is, that he preached the resurrection of Jesus as the main and distinguishing article of his religion. From these premises there is instruction to be drawn. And the instruction is this; that all preaching, pretending to be Christian, is defective according to the apostolic standard, which neglects or refuses to present the resurrection as the peculiar basis of Christianity, or attempts to substitute, as that peculiar basis, any other doctrine or doctrines. Of course, it is not required that every sermon should verbally recognise the fact or doctrine of the resurrection. But no sermon should deny, or seem to deny, the supreme importance of the resurrection, or advance any doctrine before it, or in its stead, as an essential of Christianity." — Vol. ii. pp. 334 – 337.

So thought Dr. Greenwood of the importance of the resurrection; and such were his views of preaching. And his own preaching, in general, was eminently scriptural, both in its topics and illustrations, though he occasionally selected topics which were thought by some barely to fall within the range of subjects for pulpit discourses. In treating these he would often indulge his brilliant, but

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delicate and chastened imagination. Yet was not the preacher, even here, faithless to his trust, for the mind would be carried up to the throne of the Eternal, and the soul be filled with kindling emotions of piety and love.

Our other extracts shall be from the sermon last preached, though not the last written, by the lamented author. It was first preached in October, 1841, and repeated in the pulpit of a friend, May 22, 1842, the last time his voice was ever heard in public. It is on the appropriate theme of "Stability amidst Change." The following occurs near the beginning of the discourse.

"We hear of late the very frequent assertion, that the world has outgrown such and such opinions, habits, or modes of action. Occasionally the assertion is made considerately, and is true. It is made concerning cruelties, superstitions, and puerilities, which the world ought to outgrow, and which a part of the world has partly outgrown, as any observer may see. As more and more individuals become enlightened and civilized, by the process of the diffusion of existing knowledge and the temper and principles of Christianity, the world, or that portion of it which possesses the means of this improvement, will gradually outgrow the follies and crimes by which it has been disgraced. But the trouble and annoyance is, that the same assertion is used by half-sighted and confident men, to signify the supposed triumph of their own fancies, and with regard to things which the world ought not to outgrow, and has not in reality outgrown, because they are good and durable in themselves. No sooner do a few individuals learn to neglect and despise certain religious forms, than they declare that the world has outgrown them. The truth is, that they do not understand the reason which is the basis of those forms, nor feel the beauty which they serve to clothe and express, and then they presume to put the world into their own predicament. Again, we hear evil spoken and ruin denounced against established institutions and authorities, with the same declaration that the world has outgrown them. This is indeed making a free use of that figure of speech by which a part is put for the whole. They have outgrown, and therefore the whole world has outgrown. And who are these that have outgrown so much? What is the measure of their stature? They do not seem to be taller than their fathers, or wiser than their neighbors. Vainer they may be; and more discontented they certainly are with that which is generally received. Grant that they have outgrown many things which others esteem honorable; it may well be questioned whether this be true growth and progress. It may well be questioned, whether to outgrow reverence for sacred names and

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sacred places, sacred associations, hopes and memories, be to grow with any fair proportions, or to any good purpose." — Vol. ii. pp. 381 – 383.

The discourse concludes in the following strain of trustful hope and assurance.

"Meanwhile let us be satisfied that the essential things remain, and will remain, and that the world cannot outgrow them. Religion remains; for the nature of man requires it. Faith in Christ remains; for he is the Mediator between God and man, revealing the will of God, and manifesting the glory of the Father; and man must go to him for the words of eternal life. The Bible remains; for it is spread through the world, and guarded by its own sanctity and man's gratitude. Prayer remains; for man must speak to his Maker, and the language of his communion is prayer. And things which appear to some less essential and permanent than these, will still remain. Not only will religion remain in spirit, but in external form; for man has senses as well as a soul. Forms may be modified, but form will remain. Public worship will remain; for the nature of man is social. The Sabbath will remain; for experience has proved the value of a periodical rest. Ordinances will remain; for religion demands manifestation; and especially will those two ordinances remain, which the Saviour enjoined, and which the Church from the very first has continued. Music will accompany worship, and elevate piety, while man has an ear for harmony. Churches will be reared with the best graces of architecture, while man has an eye for fitness, proportion, and beauty. Let us not fear the occasional outcries of destructiveness, or be troubled by the whispered fears of timidity. The things which we love and have reason to love, and which have helped us and made our solace, will not be outgrown. If they have engaged love, true and pure love, they are worthy and lasting. If they have touched and opened the inmost fountains of feeling, they are real and durable. Let us not fear for them nor distrust them, but be true to them, and they will be true to us. They are as ancient as the heart of man, and will live till the heart dies. If we cannot secure for them the wide sympathy of all, we shall find for them, if we will seek it, the better and more earnest sympathy of the few. And the sympathy of the many will return to them, gradually and surely, when the time of anger or indifference is spent, and the affections are permitted once more to flow forth freely, and the true taste of nature is rescued from coarse associations, and directed by its competent guides. Then there will be a returning and a rest. For 'that which hath been is now, and that which is to be hath already been.'" — Vol. ii. pp. 389, 390. J. H. M.

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ART. VII.—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GERMAN.

THE VALUE OF YEARS.

From the German of Friedrich Rückert, as Freimund, under which assumed name his earlier poems were published.

Adam sat in Paradise, circled by many a spirit;—
All souls of those, that, as time flows, should come this life to inherit.
God the Lord brought each before the great forefather's face,
That what was written on their fronts his prophet eye might trace.
Letters bright on every brow, drawn by the heavenly finger,
Showed the number of the years, that each on earth should linger.

Adam said: "Who is the man that nobly now advances?
Minstrel's fire is on his lips, a seer's in his glances."
"That is David," said the Lord, "thy son, the pious king;
Wondrous gifts his heart inspire, that he my praise should sing."
"And but sixty years," said Adam, "are to him appointed?
Give twice twenty of my thousand to thine own anointed!"
The wish of our first parent was answered: "Be it done;
And give the years twice twenty to Jesse's youngest son."

Adam, far from Paradise, his fated years had past,
And the dread death-angel came to bury him at last.
"What wilt thou here?" cried Adam, and with angry eye;
"Forty of my thousand years are due before I die."
But the angel said: "Not so; I come no day too soon;
Forgettest thou that forty become king David's boon?"
"Ah!" sighed Adam; "then I sat within my Eden-bowers;—
The boon should not be valid on the earth that now is ours."

Freimund, Adam's son! reflect, that none in Eden's bliss
Knows how much a year is worth in an earth-lot like this.

N. L. F.

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MEN'S TEARS.

From the German of the Count Von Auersperg, Anastasius Grün.

The name of the Count is but little known among us; in this, unlike Rückert on the preceding page, whose two large volumes enjoy a high and well-deserved fame. He is an Austrian, born in 1806, and still living, we hope. We have seen but two pieces of his. They are contained in Schwab's Collection. One, that is called "The Last Poet," shows no little originality, and is full of poetic fire. A translation of it has already been published. The other, though much inferior we think, we venture to lay before our readers.

MAIDEN, didst thou see me weeping? —
Ah! methinks that woman's tear
Is like the soft dew out of heaven,
That in the flower-cup glitters clear.

If the troubled night hath wept it,
Or the smiling morning shed,
Still the dew the flower refreshes,
And renewed it lifts its head.

But the tear of man resembles
Precious gum from Eastern tree;
In the very heart deep-hidden,
Seldom starting quick and free.

Through the bark thou must cut sharply,
To the pith the steel must go;
Then the pure and noble moisture
Bright and golden trickles slow.

Soon, indeed, is dried its fountain,
And the tree fresh foliage gains,
And yet shall welcome many a summer; —
But the cut, the wound, remains.

Maiden, think of that tree wounded,
Where its growths the Orient rears;
Maiden, of that man bethink thee,
Whom thine eyes have seen in tears.

N. L. F.

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ART. VIII. — ON AMERICAN MORALS AND MANNERS.

WE propose to offer some observations in this article on American morals and manners. There is, at this moment, a very extraordinary crisis of opinion in Europe with regard to this country. Our national character is not only brought into question, but it is brought into question as furnishing grounds for a decision upon the form of our Government, upon the great cause of Republican institutions.

For reasons then, deeper than those which concern our national reputation, — and yet this is not indifferent, — this subject deserves attention. We have no desire to overrate the importance of this country; but it is undoubtedly the great embodiment of the leading principle on which the history of the world is to turn for many years to come. When at some future time a philosophical history of the present age shall be written, this country will occupy a place in it, the very converse of that which it now holds in the thoughts of most men in the Old World. That future time will far better understand the map of human affairs, not to say our literal geography, than does the present. It will be seen that the tree of freedom, planted on this Western continent, has shot its roots and fibres through the whole of Europe; beneath the soil of all her ancient and venerable institutions. Whether it shall stand and flourish and lend strength to the world; or whether, overturned by whelming floods, it shall draw the world down with it, or leave it rent and torn by the disruption of its ties — this is the question. We are not to be told that we are now speaking great words with little meaning. Those ties, we affirm, exist. The humbler classes in Europe may know definitely but little about us. But from out of this unknown world, from beyond the dim and spreading curtain of the sea, has come to them a story that they will never forget. They have heard first of a people who can eat the fruit of an unentailed soil, of their own soil; and we can testify from observation, that that word, *ownership*, is like a word of magic to them. They have heard, next, of a people who can read; to whom is unrolled the mysterious page of knowledge, the lettered wisdom of all mankind. Yes, and they are demanding and gaining that

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boon, that American privilege, from their own Governments. They have heard, once more, of a people, who are their own governors, who make their own laws and execute them, and whom no man with impunity can wrong or oppress. Yes, in the lowliest cabins of Europe, they have learned all this. Let all the crowned powers of the world unteach it, if they can. This is no dream to them; it is a fact. There is example for it. And this one example is of more weight than all the books of theory that have been written from the time of Plato to this day.

The great controversy of the age, we have said in a former article, is the controversy about freedom. To put it in a more exact and practical form, it is a question about Government. How men shall govern themselves, or whether they can govern themselves at all, or, in other words, by what forms they are best governed; this is the question. And it is a momentous question. A good-natured easiness, or philosophic indifference upon this point; the sage dictum — of Dr. Johnson or of any body else — that happiness is about the same under all Governments; we cannot understand at all. We know that there are deeper things than Government, affecting men's welfare; but we say, this, nevertheless, affects it. Nay, and it has an influence, in many ways, upon those deeper things — sentiments, morals, modes of thought, views of life, the cheerfulness and hopefulness of life. If "oppression makes a wise man mad," it often makes a whole people worse than mad — unprincipled, immoral, and stupid or frivolous. If a single bad man in high station may corrupt many, what extended and blighting shadow over a country must be cast by the enthroned image of wrong! It dishonors and degrades, it vexes and demoralizes a people. Besides, Government either helps or hinders individual development. It expands or contracts the whole man; for it touches his freedom, education, religion. It concerns not only the man's virtue, but the man's manhood. Unless we were to say, as we might more justly, that virtue, rightly construed, *is* the manhood of man.

From these reasons, as well as from man's natural right to be free, has arisen the conviction in all liberal and generous minds, that the freest Government, compatible with human safety, is to be preferred to all others.

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Now of such a Government, the *freest* in the world at least, America has given an example. The eyes of the world were directed to it. Could it succeed? If it could, it was virtually an answer to every argument for political wrong; for absolute monarchy, for primogeniture, for legitimacy in all its forms. Could it succeed? More than sixty years of success it has counted; no nation on earth has been in a happier condition, none more flourishing in affairs, more correct in morals, more submissive to law, or more loyal to its government. Sixty, nay, nearly seventy years have passed over a nation, experiencing, meanwhile, all the vicissitudes of peace and war, and of commercial prosperity and adversity, and still it has a being; it has not faded away like a Utopian dream from these blessed shores; it is no mushroom empire; it stands firm and strong. And yet now, at this late hour, all at once, this experiment is distrusted and discredited throughout the whole of Europe.

It is certainly a very remarkable crisis in public opinion, and, on every account, demands attention. If this present distrust is a mere freak or whim of the public mind, that character should be fixed upon it. If it arises from misapprehension, the error should be promptly exposed. If there are any just grounds for it, most especially does it concern us in America to know it.

Let us then look carefully into the case of America, with reference to this distrust. What are the grounds of it? And how far are they sustained, if they are sustained at all, by the facts? What is there in this American nation — a great nation; consisting of many millions of people; prosperous, peaceful, happy; free, powerful, and respectable, we hope — what is there that justifies any alarmist, any croaker, in saying that the great experiment of this people in government is coming to nought, or that can warrant foreign writers, who should feel that they have a reputation to preserve, in speaking of this country in terms of gross indignity and ribald scorn?

The first charge that we shall examine, since at present it stands foremost of all, is that of the repudiation of public debts.

It is not easy to understand the feeling of all Europe on this point, without coming into actual contact with it. On

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a late visit to the Old world, we were amazed to observe the length to which this charge of repudiation is carried. Perpetually, without one single exception among all the persons who addressed us, we were approached with an air and tone of sympathy for the sad case of America. The conversation usually ran in this manner. "A terrible thing this, in America!" "What thing?" we said. "Why, this repudiation, you know." "But who has repudiated?" "Who? Why! the States, all the States, or the most of them; it is the doctrine now in America." "Nay, sir," was our reply, "let us understand this matter, if you please, before we proceed any farther. We say that the States have not repudiated their debts. We say that there is no such thing as repudiation in America, except in regard to limited portions of the debts of two of the States where the just obligation to pay is denied. Michigan alleges, that as certain monies which she proposed to borrow, never found their way into her treasury, she it not obliged in good faith to reimburse the lender. Mississippi contends, that she is not [redacted] legally nor honestly bound to pay certain bonds, because they were sold and were bought in known violation of the very condition on which they were issued. We do not say that these are sufficient grounds of defence. We think that the acts of the authorized agents of a State, should bind the State. But still we say, that neither of these is an act of open, unblushing repudiation. There is no such thing in America. We believe, there never can be. It is a case, not of repudiation, but of simple bankruptcy. The States cannot pay at present; is that a crime?" "But they can pay," was the reply often made. "They can lay a direct tax, for the purpose of paying the interest at least. Or, at any rate, they could come forward and relieve the public mind by saying that they acknowledge their liability, and mean in due time to meet it. They knew that suspicions were flung upon their good faith, and they have done nothing to remove them." "Consider," we said in reply, "how little the mass of the people are apt to feel themselves implicated in the acts of the Government. They hear that there is a deficit in the treasury; they suppose that it will be supplied in some way, without ever suspecting that their honor is compromised or that their intervention is necessary. Nor does it

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materially alter the case, that ours is a republican or representative government. It is a way of thinking that long since came into the world, with regard to the action of all Governments. The public conscience does not feel itself responsible for the acts or neglects of Government. We wish it did, among ourselves. We are willing to hear any thing that tends to elevate the public conscience. And in this view, we could wish that either of the two things before suggested had been done; that is to say, either that the voice of the people had demanded a direct tax, or a most open and formal profession of a purpose to pay. But the question now is; does the failure to do one or the other of these things indicate a want of principle among the people, a willingness that the debt should never be paid? Would any other people have aroused themselves — the English or the French — to meet a case like this? Would they not have said, 'The government will provide; the thing will right itself in due time?' Would not the affair have been a parcel of the national budget, rather than a part of the national conscience?"

We think indeed that the Governments of the delinquent States ought to have come forward in the late crisis, when their bonds were dishonored in every market in the world, and to have said, 'We hold the public faith and honor to be sacred, and we firmly believe and fully intend that these debts shall be paid.' This the suffering bond-holders had a right to demand, at the least; and they did demand it. They said, and they still say, 'You cannot pay; be it so; you say that you cannot lay a direct tax to pay the interest on these bonds; that it is a time of universal and unparalleled distress in your country; that the people of the delinquent States have land, have wheat, have everything, but money; be it so; but yet *say* something to us; say that you mean to pay; that will satisfy us for the present; that will relieve the panic which is sweeping down us and our families by hundreds, to poverty and misery.' Why did not the State authorities in question, meet this call? Why do they not meet it now? We ask this question with unspeakable concern and pain. We can conceive of no answer to it that ought to satisfy anybody. It must be want of care, of courage, or of principle. That it should be want of principle; that our public functionaries are

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willing violaters of their plighted faith, sworn oath-breakers, we choose to consider and we do consider impossible. A carelessness, we conceive; a feeling of not being responsible, too apt to be the feeling of public men in distinction from that of private men, and increased here by constant rotation in office; the feeling, in short, which says, '*I* did not borrow this money, and I am no more responsible in regard to it than every man around me;' all this may be the explanation, in part, of this great neglect, as it seems to us, of public duty. It is very well known that, in England, as well as in America, successive administrations do not feel responsible for the acts of the last, as if they were their own. It is very easy to see that if our States had, each of them, a permanent head, a prince or king, the sense of responsibility, in such a crisis, would be far more binding.

Still we must confess that this reasoning, though it may explain something, is, in such a case by no means satisfactory. But is this enough even to explain the case? Must there be something more? Can it be that our State authorities have distrusted the honesty of the people, have doubted whether in the simple admission that the debt is binding, they would be supported by public sentiment, have feared, that if they spoke the honest word, they should lose their dishonest places? Then before Heaven do we say it, we believe, that they do not *know* the people whom they canvass! It is not true that the people of this country, if the honest part were truly placed before them, would reject it. It cannot, it shall not, it must not, be true. In strict faith and conscience, we believe it is not. If we thought it were, if we ever were brought to that terrible conclusion, if we believed this nation to be a false and dishonest nation, we should fold our arms in despair; we should lift our eyes to heaven and say, 'God! give us another country! We have no country; give us some far land, some distant shore, where faith is kept and truth abides; for we have no more a country!' We trust we shall be believed when we say, that this is no language of rhetoric. It has been lately said in a printed letter, that "Indiana *will certainly* repudiate." We do not believe it. But if it were true, hopelessly true, and if we were a citizen of Indiana, we would leave that State without delay. We would not breathe its

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air one moment beyond the time that we had power to leave it.

We can believe that this is a subject on which the public conscience is not yet sufficiently aroused, without losing our confidence in the people. We can believe that the public mind is, to some degree, sophisticated, on this subject. There have been some novel speculations spread among the people, designed to show that governments have no right to contract debts; that the present generation has no right to bind the future; and much has been made in Europe of the circumstance, that one of the public functionaries of the State of New York has lent his countenance to such a doctrine; a doctrine, which, whether true or false, becomes, at any rate, dishonest, the moment it is made to apply to debts already contracted. There is a feeling, too, among the people that these debts have been rashly contracted; that the public works on which these loans have been expended, are of little or no service to them; that millions have been thrown away upon useless canals, and that it is hard they should now be heavily taxed for these bootless enterprises. Add to this, the general feeling of irresponsibleness for what the Government does; and it is easy to see in what a different light this case may present itself, from that of direct personal liability.

It is not strange, perhaps, that the creditor in Europe does not, or will not, see this difference. He addresses the State that is indebted to him — Pennsylvania, for instance — just as if it were a private individual.* He says, 'You can pay; you are rich at this moment; you can pay; you will not pay; you are revelling in "the luxury of dishonesty;" you never will pay.' He feels disposed, if he meets a Pennsylvanian at dinner in London, to seize upon him, strip him, and in a sort of symbolical retaliation to divide his apparel among the guests; his coat to one, his boots to another, and his watch to a third. — If any body wants the benefit of this lash, let them have it. If this irony can do any good, let it, in Heaven's name! But still, we must say, that it is more amusing than reasonable. Suppose the Affghan people should retort in this way upon the Reverend satirist — could they catch him — because his *Government*

* See the Letters of the Reverend Sydney Smith.

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had done them some harm. Suppose the Chinese should smother him in a chest of opium, because his people persisted in smuggling the article into their country. Nay, and we cannot quite admire the taste with which these English writers come forth to teach and reprimand this country — something as if they had birch in hand for this great republican boy on the other side of the water. But to be serious; is all this wise or just? Multitudes in Pennsylvania, and in all the indebted States, are most anxious that this matter should be fairly adjusted. But they find that this cannot be done in a moment. A whole people must be aroused to the payment of a government debt. Such a thing was never done before in the world; and we doubt whether it *can* be done anywhere else. We doubt whether the public debt of England would stand the tide of universal suffrage a single day. Be that as it may; here is a Pennsylvanian — let us suppose — laboring and hoping and believing that all may be brought right. In the meantime would the Reverend accuser have him eaten up at a dinner in London? We cannot sympathize with his wit. With us it a matter too great and grave to raise a laugh about. We are sorry for his anger too; for it has certainly cost him sixty per cent on his investment. He says he has sold his stock at forty per cent. He says it, as if he had washed his hands of it. "Haste makes waste." If he had waited a little, he might have had a hundred.

At the same time, we freely say that to any, not petulant but calm and solemn remonstrance of this gentleman, whose talent we admire, whose writings we delight in, we would give all the aid in our humble power. We do not regret that he should use his powerful pen to awaken the public conscience in this country. We would that many pens should be employed in this cause. Yes, and with all our heart, let them point to that magnificent State of Pennsylvania, — key-state she is called; key-state she is; and never did more depend on her than now! There is a voice from her western border which has thrilled through the hearts of thousands — the noble manifesto of the Pittsburg "Franklin Association." Honor and success to it! Let the capital answer to that voice! Let the river echo to the mountains, that great motto — "Franklin and Honesty!" We would indeed there were public meetings called in

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all our cities to consider this solemn crisis in our national morals, to pour out eloquent indignation upon the bare thought of public delinquency; to do all that is possible to wipe off the dishonor that is cast upon us in the face of all Europe!

There is, in fact, an effort to be made in this country, of which we think our people are not yet fully aware. This matter of our public indebtedness must not be left to take care of itself. The country must be aroused. It must come to be distinctly understood, that here is no ordinary work to be done. A whole people must be brought to feel the obligation of a public engagement. We have assigned some reasons to show why this does not come home to the private and individual conscience. But it must be brought home there. Our only help lies in individual conviction. Every merchant, every mechanic, every farmer must be made to feel that this obligation presses like a private debt, upon his ware-house, his work-shop, his land. The truth is, a new kind of national conscience is to be called into being here. The people of these States, paying immense debts, which press upon them in the form of government loans, paying them by a voluntary effort, as they will do, will present a moral spectacle never before seen in the world. The principle that will do this, lies, we firmly believe, in the heart of these communities; but it is to be quickened into life and roused into action. And this *must* be done. We must not admit nor consent that anything else is possible. Shall the blight of bad faith be upon our fields and streams and mountains, as an everlasting curse and shame? Shall this canker be suffered to remain in the very root of all our prosperity and hope? Shall this terrible precedent stand in the national history of millions of free, prosperous and intelligent people? Shall this be the heritage of dishonor that is to go down from us to our posterity? And shall the nations as they pass by our borders say, 'Aha! these are the people that talked of liberty and justice and human rights; but they never paid their debts!' Heaven forbid! We neither admit nor consent, nor believe that this is possible!

The second charge brought against us, is that of an excessive and demoralizing love and pursuit of gain.

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To meet the full extent of the distrust that is felt of this country and of its institutions on pecuniary grounds, it is necessary to take a larger view, than that of temporary repudiation. There are other accusations connected with this larger view. It is said that the entire national mind of this country is corrupted by the pursuit of wealth; that in the absence of hereditary distinctions, this is the main title to consideration among us, and that to gain it, has become the one passion of our people; that from this cause has come in a flood of bankruptcies, failures, frauds; that we have become the most dishonest people in the world; and in fine, that our great political experiment is wrecked upon a rock of gold; — or rather, of what we thought was gold, but which has turned out to be no better than worthless slate.

Let us observe in passing, that the failure of the United States Bank, being, as it was strictly after the withdrawal of the national charter, a private corporation, no more involves the moral credit of our people, than the failure of a bank at Leeds or Manchester, does that of the English people. But let us proceed to the general allegation.

That, as a people at large, we are a money-seeking people beyond all others, we do not deny. That the pursuit of property carries us too far, and is the cause of many mistakes and evils among us, we do not deny. But with regard to the opprobrium attached to this national trait, we must ask for some candid reflection.

It must be remembered then, that there never was a people to whom the paths of acquisition were so widely opened as the people of this country. In Europe, entail on the land and capital in the manufactories, hold the mass of property from general possession. The laboring classes, generally, are tenants at will, or toilers for a bare subsistence. To have a competence, an independence however humble, is a thing entirely beyond their reach and thought. In this country, this boon, or the hope of it at least, is held out to all. Can it be expected that any people will be indifferent to such a blessing? We are not surprised that the first developement of the unobstructed free principle, is the eager pursuit of property. Noble ones are to follow, are following already; but it was natural, it was inevitable, that this should be the first. A man were

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a fool, and not a rational being, if, when the chance is offered him of providing for his own declining days or for the future wants of his family, he should fold his hands in transcendental wisdom or plebeian stupidity, and say that he did not care for property.

Nor do we admit all that is charged, of bad consequences from the pursuit of worldly goods. We will come in a moment to our late commercial disasters. But first we deny in general, that the common possession of this great heritage of opportunity, has had the effect alleged, to vulgarize, degrade and corrupt the public mind. This wide diffusion of property tends to make a generous people. We certainly are not a hoarding people. Our expenditures are free enough in all conscience, we need not say; but we must say, since we are put upon this ungrateful argument, that our charities too are free. And we wish that our British accusers, in particular, would think now and then, amidst their reproaches, of the thousands and ten thousands of their own poor, whom we annually relieve. They come in shoals every week, every day, to our shores; sometimes, we are told, actually shipped off from the almshouses of England in utter helplessness by the public authorities; they crowd our own alms-houses; they besiege our doors in all the cities of our sea-board; and we verily believe that, in the long run, we are to give to the poor of Great Britain more than the amount of all the debts we owe her! We *can* do it; and a good many things more; and pay the debt besides; and *shall* — such is our assured faith.

But again, we doubt whether the eagerness for gain, though circumstances have made it more general here, is, by any means, so intense as it is in the higher circles of Europe. There is nothing here to compare with the rigid grasp of entail; with the inhumanity, the unnatural cruelty and injustice, that looks around upon a circle of children alike loving and entitled to love, and says, 'penniless shall ye all be, but this, my eldest; dependent shall ye all be upon him; in order that our family may be great.' They say that we have no birth-distinctions here to honor. But how long will the birth-distinction last without the wealth-distinction? The law of primogeniture answers. No, no; the great name must be graven on a plate of gold,

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or it will wear out. The possessors of rank will not be the men to set a light value upon the wealth that sustains it.

This close alliance, too, must give wealth, with the *mass of the people*, increased influence and power. And we verily believe, strange as the assertion may be thought, that opulence is a surer title to respect in Europe than it is in America. Beside its association with rank, it is a rarer thing there, than it is here. And from both causes, it can surround itself with homages there, which here it would seek for in vain. We are *certain*, that the *poor* man in America stands a better chance of receiving the consideration and respect that are due to him, than in Europe. The Old world is full of arrangements that visibly assign to him an humbler place and accommodation. The forward deck of steamboats is for him; the second class of railroad cars; the humble *fiacre* or *citadine* in the cities; nay, the very streets tell the same tale. Till recently, in the cities of Europe the streets had no side-walks. But fifteen years ago, large quarters in Paris did not possess one side-walk. And the language of all this was as plain, as if the words had been formed in the very paving-stones; 'these streets were built solely for the convenience of the rich who ride in carriages, and not for the poor who walk.' Yes, and the rapid increase of side-walks in the cities as plainly proclaims the onward march of more just and liberal principles. The barricades in Paris did not tell a plainer tale.

But let us come to the season of our late commercial disasters. This, in the view of many foreign observers, has plunged the moral and political hope of the country into utter ruin. Let us look at the case. In a thriving country, of vast and unexplored resources, amidst an enterprising population, to whose whole mass were opened the courses of boundless competition, there grew up gradually, from various causes, an honest conviction of the increased value of all property. We were living in a new age, in a new world, amidst new and untried fortunes; prosperity, such as the world perhaps had never known, was pouring its treasures into the lap of peace; human intelligence, aspiration, hope, were lifting their wings for an unbounded flight; mechanism, more than realizing the fabled stories of giants and Titans, seemed about to break through the iron barriers of necessity, and to open the regions of

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some fairer and happier state of being. There were distinct causes, no doubt, of the wild speculations of 1835 and 1836, but we believe that the excited spirit of the age lent them a powerful impulse. At any rate, the impulse became general, became universal. We well remember how sage and cautious men held out against it for a time. We remember too, how one after another fell in with it; till at length all yielded to the tide of opinion, and were gazing unconcerned, if not actually swimming upon this vast and tremendous Mælstrom. Speculation became, in fact, a part of the regular and accredited business of the country. It was not like the mania about the South sea and Mississippi stocks; it was not the scheme of a few; it did not wear an air of romance or phrenzy, which might well have put the prudent upon their guard; it was the trade and traffic of the many. People honestly said, 'we had not appreciated the value of our property; our houses, our lots and lands are, and are to be, worth more than we had thought; how much we know not.' Suppose, then, multitudes to have become honestly possessed with the conviction that they could make immense fortunes in a few years; and see the unprecedented force of the temptation. The fact is, that no community on earth was ever subjected to anything like the same trial. Is it strange that many sunk under it; that the sound old maxims of prudence were considered as superseded and to be laid aside; that men took risks first, then involved themselves in embarrassments; and that many, at last, fell into positive frauds? There have been sad failures on every side; not received with dishonest nonchalance, as our foreign traducers represent; they little know the honorable minds to which they do this wrong. And there have been gigantic frauds, which have struck the heart of the whole community with salutary horror. All this we admit. But when we hear it said, 'the great republican experiment has failed;' we answer, no; some banks, some houses, some individuals have failed, but the country has not failed, the experiment has not failed; the heart of the people is sound. In fact, when we speak of the whole community as engaged in the late hazardous courses of business, we speak, after all, only of the trading classes; the people at large, knew nothing about it. The body of farmers and mechanics was absolutely untouched

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by it. And we aver and we know, concerning our people at large, and that too from some minute knowledge and extensive comparison, that there is not a more honest and virtuous people on earth. We might say more; for there is nothing among our people, to compare with the small, paltry, perpetual deception, knavery and lying that one finds everywhere on the continent of Europe. We might say more then; but thus much at least, will we say; for while on the one hand, we have no taste for flattery, on the other, we will not give up our people to unjust reproach. Conceit may be bad, but discouragement is scarcely less so; to submit passively to opprobrium is to go half-way towards deserving it; and at any rate, what we desire in the case, is absolute truth and justice — no more and no less.

The third grave charge against American morals is fixed upon the system of Slavery.

Let the charge be precisely stated. It is not that we now import slaves, or suffer them to be imported. We have declared the trade to be piracy; and were the first nation in the world to do so. The charge is, that a body of the unfortunate African race formerly introduced into this country, and which has come by inheritance into the hands of the present generation, is still held in bondage. It is an involuntary possession. It was not sought by those in whom the title now vests; it is not desired by the most of them; it was entailed upon them. And the substantive matter of the accusation is, that they do not emancipate this class immediately. Gradual emancipation has been going on in this country from the moment that it was freed from its connection with Great Britain. Up to the time of the Abolition excitement, the discussion of such relief was freely entertained from one end of the country to the other. Let the reader remember the debates in the Virginia Legislature after the Southampton massacre, the language of Jefferson himself on this subject, and the conversations he must have held with the Southern planters, if he has taken any pains to converse with them. The charge is not, that the body of our citizens even in the slave States, approve of this system in the abstract; not that they would now establish it; but that they permit its existence at all, that they do not break it up immediately; or with regard to the Northern States, it is that they are slumbering in criminal apathy over this tre-

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mendous evil and wrong. In one word, the charge is, that the national conscience is far behind that of other civilized countries. For it is not our present business to maintain that we are better than other nations, but to show that no grand demoralization has taken place under our Republican forms. This is what is now alleged in Europe, and this is what we deny.

We had prepared ourselves to make a somewhat full statement of our views of the entire Slavery question; but we refrain from doing so at present, for two reasons. The first is, that it would swell this article beyond due bounds. And the second is, that we are unwilling on reflection to discuss the subject at large from the particular point of view at which we now stand. It places us in a false position with reference to our own sentiments. From some experience we have found, that everything we say, with a to view the defence of the national morality on this subject, is seen in a false light. We are looked upon as apologists for Slavery: a thing we can never permit.

We must content ourselves at present, therefore, with some remarks on the state of feeling existing in this country, and the judgment formed of it abroad. Are we then to say, in the first place, that this feeling is altogether right, that the public conscience is elevated or quickened to the desirable point? It would be idle and foolish and immoral to say it. We suppose the people of this country, and especially the parties interested, feel very much as the people of England or France would, as all people will at first, in a case where immense interests are involved, where old habitudes and prejudices are called in question, and where selfish passions are aroused by earnest discussion. And here we must still desire the reader to observe our point of view, and not to misconstrue us. Absolutely speaking, we can have no wish but to raise the public character and conscience among us, to the highest elevation possible. In this view, it is nothing to us that other nations fail; we will spread no such shield over our errors. But when it is said, that our free institutions have depraved the national character, have made us a selfish and reckless people, have made us worse than any other people, it *is* to the purpose, and it is but justice to the great liberal cause, to deny the charge. We are willing that other nations should exact of us more than they

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demand of themselves, if they please; but when the exaction is brought into this kind of argument, we think it is unfair. We freely say, that we are not satisfied with the feeling that exists in this country with regard to the stupendous immorality of the slave-system, but we must equally deny that it indicates any extraordinary degeneracy.

But, in the next place, what is the feeling in fact? The Northern States have always been opposed to Slavery; they have manumitted all their slaves long ago; they are overspread with Abolition Societies at this moment; and the writings of Channing and others, have drawn universal attention and stirred the universal conscience. Does all this look like apathy? But then it is said, that many people at the North have been exasperated by the Abolition movement. But we ask, — could this be, because they are opposed to abolition? Why, they have abolished slavery themselves! The truth is, they thought this movement dangerous to the peace of the country, to the union of the States. And then they did not like the manner and tone of the Abolitionists. They could not help their dislike perhaps; but they ought, we think, to have been more considerate than they were. They ought to have respected the pure and gentle, the courageous and self-sacrificing spirit of a man like Follen, and of others like him; and we believe they did. But at any rate their dislike of the Abolitionists was not a hostility to abolition. The hopeful idea has always been entertained in New England, that the emancipation of which itself had set the example, would gradually spread itself over the South, till not one human creature in these States should be held in bondage. Then again, with regard to the feeling entertained at the South, we must believe that much injustice has been done to it. There are those, it is true, who defend the slave-system in its very principle, and maintain that it ought to be permanent. But we believe they are few. Many of the planters, we know, feel their situation to be a painful and irksome one, and would gladly be rid of it. But what should they have done? They saw, as they aver, that manumission, with them, did the colored man no good; that he was a worse man, and worse off for his freedom. They felt, too, that their characters were assailed with rude and cruel severity, and

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they were naturally indignant. This was set down, at once, to Southern pride and selfishness and inhumanity; but was it just? We have known the Southern people, as generous and hospitable and kind-hearted and courteous to a proverb; no people in the world more so; was it right to heap upon them unmeasured opprobrium and indignity, instead of approaching them as brethren, with kind and respectful reasoning; instead of mildly asking them what ought to be, and what could be done?

And indeed, what is to be done? This we say, in the third place, is the great question; and it is a difficult question; it is environed with difficulties. The way out of these difficulties is not so plain that a good conscience must needs see it at once and feel no hesitation. The example of West India emancipation has indeed relieved some doubts. The docility, the gratitude, the joy of the colored people there, and their willingness quietly to enter into new social relations, to work as freemen upon the fields which they had tilled as slaves, presented a beautiful and touching spectacle; and we rejoice at it; we thank God for it. But yet, is West India emancipation an example for us? The colored race, with us, must ever be a small and depressed minority. They can never be the dominant class, as in the West Indies. Scattered among us and yet separated from us by impassable physical, if not mental barriers; refused intermarriage, refused intercourse as equals, be it ever so unjustly; how are they ever to rise? How are they to enjoy any fair chance as men? We are disposed to ask for them an ampler measure of relief than mere emancipation. And yet how they are to get it, except in entire removal from the country, we see not. Force, for this purpose, is out of the question; but we have thought that, if, being emancipated, they should see it to be for their advantage to retire to Hayti or the West Indies, it would be fortunate for them; it would be the only situation in which they could rise to their proper place as men. And we *have* doubted whether emancipation in this country, either at the North or South, has done them any good. The instances that have fallen under our particular and personal observation, go to prove the contrary. We have known communities of them, where fifty years of freedom have left them worse and worse off for it. We do not say,

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that they were less happy; for we think that freedom is a boon that may compensate for the loss of almost everything beside. At the same time we hear that there are far more favorable instances than those we have examined. We are told, that in the cities of New York and Philadelphia there are communities of regular, orderly and industrious colored people, who have their churches, their schools, their charitable institutions, and among whom are far fewer poor and wretched than among the Irish emigrants. They are said to have improved very much within the last ten years. Something of this we have suspected; and it has occurred to us that the demonstration of friendship given in the visible array of the Abolition movement, may have been of great service to them.

The question before us, we say, is one of momentous concern, and fraught with difficulty and danger. It were a comparatively easy thing to vote twenty millions, or a hundred millions, to free slaves in a distant island. And we verily believe that our difficulties would be less, if *all* the States were slave States. Then we should have one common interest. Then we might go together. Now there is a perilous altercation between the North and the South. To our apprehension it endangers the Union. Foreigners can feel little concern about it, compared with what we feel: and they may use a rough and violent language on this subject, which it would not be our wisdom to imitate.

On the whole, we think it must be apparent that this is a subject to be treated with the utmost care and consideration, with the utmost Christian seriousness and moderation. We are accused abroad of a base and criminal apathy upon it. Who of us may deserve this charge we know not, but we do know many who have stood aloof from the Abolition movement, in application to whom it would be utterly and cruelly false. From our youth up, we have known the fact to be far otherwise. Twenty-five years ago — long before any Abolition Society was heard of — we knew of a private Association of gentlemen formed for the investigation of this subject.* Often and often have we known this matter to be discussed, as the most fatal evil and peril of the country; discussed at the North with solemn deliberation, and at the South with anxieties and

* The writer of this article was a member of this Association.

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tears even, which should have won a consideration far different from this coarse and ferocious abuse.

It has been proclaimed abroad that our pulpit dares not speak out on this subject; that many of our clergy are Abolitionists, but have not the courage to confess it. We repel the charge with indignation. Our clergy generally, though of course opposed to Slavery, are *not* Abolitionists. Nay, and we have discussed the subject of Slavery less frequently than we otherwise might have done, because we saw, or thought we saw, that the discussion was taking a dangerous turn. Foreigners can strike in freely among us; the blow does not hurt them; they care little for our dissentions and our perils; but *we*, with their leave, must look a little more carefully after these matters. It is always found that one's neighbors can speak much more freely of his family than he can himself. They understand but little of the difficulty and delicacy of his situation. We say plainly, that we do not like the tone of *English* criticism upon us.* We have seen more than one rough and reckless comment upon our soberest writers on politics, like Channing and Story. They are considered as timid and time-serving. We recollect that in one of the leading Reviews, Channing was represented — the high-hearted and intrepid Channing — as "bowing and kissing hands to the public all round!" Nay, even on the subject of Slavery, he was too prudent for some. The celebrated John Foster said, when reading one of his powerful Essays, "it is very fine, but rather too much like a razor." *He* wanted that the American champion should strike with a club. The fact is, people abroad look with a sort of speculative and curious feeling upon our discussions. They like to see the Democratic principle, as they consider it, carried out to the fullest extent, as it is in

* We do not descend so low in this allusion as to a late article, run mad with the rage for abuse, in the last London *Foreign Quarterly Review*. Nor do we refer now to its criticism on our poets. But the first few pages contain an attack upon this country of such unmeasured injustice, that we can find no words wherewith adequately to speak of it. We are sometimes tempted to ask, *is* there something coarse and brutal in the English civilization? But we check ourselves. We have seen the homes of England, and never and nowhere on earth do we expect to find more refinement, courtesy and hospitality than we have seen there. And we trust the higher mind of that country to rebuke, as they deserve, such insane ebullitions, when occupying any loftier place than the vilest newspaper, or the lowest gin-shop.

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the former writings of Brownson, and of others young and rash as he was. That pleases them, amuses them. But we have something else to do in this country, besides pleasing or amusing anybody. We must be sober, if we would be wise men. We have many things to consider, that are out of the reach of trans-Atlantic eyes. We have many interests to take into the account, many powers and tendencies to hold in a careful balance. God forbid that we should set anything above the sovereign, solemn, eternal truth! But beneath that truth we must walk reverently, soberly, humbly.

We have now considered the three heaviest charges that are brought against our national morality; repudiation, the spirit of gain, and slavery. We might proceed to say something, if we had space, of certain disorders, private broils and violations of law, under the name of Lynch Law, which characterize the state of society in the far West. There is a certain border-land between civilization and barbarism, where personal vindication, and lawless defence of society against thieves and gamblers, sometimes take place of the regular administration of public justice. We have no defence whatever to make of these usages. We have only to say, that they are less remarkable and portentous than they appear to European eyes; especially when it is considered that these are continually exhibited in newspaper paragraphs, instead of the general order of society which prevails in that part of the country. But the important observation to be made is, that this border land is constantly retreating before the advances of settled law and order. If it were otherwise, if this border were coming Eastward, if Lynch law and the bowie knife were gaining upon us, it were an invasion to be looked upon with unmitigated horror. But the truth is, that they are constantly driven back and are fast retreating to "their own place," the wild domain of savage life.

After all, we are not sure but the great offence of this country lies in what is *called* "a Democratic levelling of all distinctions," and in what is represented as "a consequent general vulgarity of mind and manners." Strangely enough Mr. Dickens has especially taken it to heart, to make this impression upon the people of England and upon his readers all over Europe. We do not say that he was obliged to think well of

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us, because we thought well of him and received him kindly. He had delighted the people of this country with his pictures of life and manners; he had provided them with what, amidst their too serious and engrossing cares, they very much wanted — a great deal of harmless amusement; he had won them by the broad and beautiful seal of humanity that is set upon his genius; and they paid him a homage which no other *people* on earth could pay. It was really a most extraordinary demonstration, creditable to both parties, indicative of great intellectual power on the one side, and of no mean share of intelligence on the other: and out of this bare fact of Mr. Dickens's reception, doing him more justice than he does himself, we could frame an argument good against more than half he says of America. We confess, under all the circumstances of the case, that we were never more at loss to account for any state of mind than for this bitterness towards America, of the popular novelist. It will not do for him to say that he is a fiction-writer and somewhat of a caricaturist. When he draws pictures of disgusting meanness and vulgarity at home, he lets the reader plainly understand that they belong to the lowest life in England. But he presents to the English and European public, pictures of a vulgarity which nobody ever saw or heard or conceived of in America, and when they walk out of the frame, lo! they are merchants of New York, Generals and landed proprietors in the West, persons holding respectable positions in society. This is no play of fiction. Speaking in his own person, he permits himself, amidst a strain of almost insane vituperation, to use language like this concerning America: "that Republic," he says, "but yesterday let loose upon her noble course, and but to-day so maimed and lame, so full of sores and ulcers, foul to the eye and almost hopeless (?) to the sense, that her best friends turn from the loathsome creature with disgust."!! We grieve to say, that the disgust inspired by this passage must turn, we fear, upon the writer of it. Mr. Dickens might be reminded that there are other vehicles for scurrility, as it would seem, besides newspapers. We challenge him to find in the lowest of our public prints any language concerning any civilized people on earth, to compare with the passage we have just quoted. Can it be a respectable thing in England, to treat a nation

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with such indignity as this? We believe not. The angry novelist, as we have reason to know, is doing himself more hurt at home, even than abroad.

But there is nevertheless a state of opinion in England to which this general representation addresses itself. It is doubtless believed by many that the people in this country are, in the mass, a knavish, mean and vulgar people; that we are a people of infinite pretension and very little performance; that our intelligence is cunning, our virtue wordy talk, and our religion fanaticism; in short that our Democratic institutions are fast breaking down all reverence, nobleness and true culture among our people. From the high places of society in England, they cast down scorn upon this poor Republic, wallowing in the mire and filth of boundless license and vulgarity! *

We are somewhat tempted to take that bull, John Bull, by the horns in this matter, though we should be gored by him. Nobility against Democracy then — be it so. We are ready to maintain that Democracy is yielding nobler results. We will not direct attention to the misery of the lower classes in that country; but we point directly to the higher classes. We say that much of that misery is owing to *them*. We say that they do not now, and that they never did, their duty to the people of England. We say that they have never made any contribution, proportionable to their advantages, to the wealth, improvement, learning, literature, or even to the statesmanship of England. Were not their ranks continually recruited from the commonalty, they would have more than half died and ceased out of the land by this time. Their position is essentially a false and wrong position for human beings to occupy. Nay, their feeble hands cannot hold the very property that is committed to them. Were it not lashed on to them by entail, it would be scattered during the life-time of the present generation. At this very moment, more than half of the great landed estates of England are under mortgage.

We say moreover, that their position is one totally unjust and infinitely ungenerous to the rest of the people. They have a most unfair start in the race of life. There is

* See Lord Sydenham's Letter.

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no generous boy in any country, that would not disdain such an advantage. Suppose that such a boy were sent to any public school: and that the master, patting him on the head, should say to him, 'I know where you came from, my dear; you are the son of such or such an one; now do not trouble yourself about the tasks, my boy; though you do not work half so hard as the others, you shall have more marks than any of them; and when you run races with them, you shall always have two rods the start; so you shall be a grand boy in the school any way.' Now what would any spirited and generous boy say of this? With bursting tears of indignation, we should expect him to say, 'I do not want to be treated so; I do not want any advantage; let me take my chance with the rest.' The peerage is the great baby-nursery of England; and all the land is taxed and tasked to keep it warm and comfortable — especially for the oldest boy: and when the younger ones run out, instantly coats and cloaks — to wit, army and navy uniforms, cassocks, good secretaryships, appointments, — are provided for them by the kind and nursing public.

The good people of England especially admire this institution, and it is our especial marvel that they do. We cannot help thinking that many a noble lord laughs in his sleeve at it. Our own feeling is, that the people in that country are not elevated, but degraded by this worship of the aristocracy. We remember once asking in a company of intelligent and cultivated persons in England, whether there was anybody, any man in the country, who on being invited by the Lord of a neighboring castle to visit him and spend a week in hunting with his Lordship, would not feel — and that too whether his Lordship was wise or simple, bad or good — would not feel, we say, sensibly gratified and very highly honored. With a shout of laughter at our simplicity, they all answered, "No, there is no such man in England!"

Give us then, we say, the chance for the noblest development of all human faculties and affections, that is found in our generous freedom, with all its faults, rather than that which is offered in the title-worshipping land of Britain!

In connection with our morality, we wish to say a word or two, in passing, of our religion. There is a total misconception in Europe on this subject. We have no established

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Church and no ecclesiastical revenue, and it is inferred that we have no religion. Dr. Chalmers, some years ago, came out in London with a series of lectures on the Voluntary System, and much did he delight the members of the Establishment by proving, as they supposed, that religion cannot be left to take care of itself, that it is not in this, as in worldly matters, that demand will procure supply. We should like to know what he thinks of it now, since one of the noblest voluntary contributions has been made that ever the world saw, to support him and the free churches of his new communion in breaking off from the Establishment. Be this as it may; here in America, is a perfect illustration of the permanent working of the voluntary principle. Here is a country without either establishment or endowment or revenue, or compulsion of any sort to support religion. And what do we see? More Divinity Schools are established here, more churches are builded, and larger salaries, to *the body* of the clergy, are paid in this country, than anywhere else in the world. Demand will not procure supply — the voluntary principle will not sustain religious institutions — is it said? Look at the churches that are rising around us in every city in the Union — and not one stone laid in their foundations, but what the voluntary principle lays there. But this zeal is not confined to our cities. We took a journey three or four years since, across the hills of our own and a neighboring county in Massachusetts, and we must confess that we were equally surprised and delighted with what we saw. In the first township that we came to, they were building a new church, for the convenience of a half-parish two or three miles from the old church. In the second, they were painting their church, and had replaced the old steeple with a new one. We shall be permitted to be thus minute, because these are the simple facts. In a third township — all lying adjacent to each other — they had pulled down the old church, and built a new, commodious and tasteful structure in its stead. In a fourth, not far distant, we came out upon what seemed a church in the wilderness; all surrounded by woods, with not a dwelling-house in sight. One other building there was, indeed, hard by it, and that was a new academy — with a bell that was ringing out its matin call to the pupils, and sounded like a convent bell amidst the solitudes of the

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Alps. Now, let a man travel over England, and where can he find anything like this? Dr. Chalmers asks for a power that shall build churches and support their ministers. We point him to the voluntary principle. It does build churches here, and it does pay the clergy; and it does everything else that we want done. At least it accomplishes more than is done in any other country. England with all her ecclesiastical revenues, and all the power of her hierarchy, and all the wealth of her nobles, cannot build churches nor raise funds in her waste places, nay, nor in her thronged cities, to any such extent as is done here, simply by the voluntary principle.

Passing from our morals and religion, we would say something, in the next place, of our manners. And we freely admit the high significance of this consideration. Manners really are, according to the old usages of language, matters of morality. Manners are the instant unfolding, out-flowing of a people's mind; they are unpremeditated expressions of culture or coarseness, refinement or vulgarity, self-considering or self-forgetting, justice or injustice, kindness or coldness of heart; they are as significant as charities or churches, as bankruptcies or battles. Show us a people whose manners are essentially bad — gross, coarse, ungentle and bad; and we should give up the defence of it in as utter despair, as if it had neither priests nor altars, neither hospitals nor alms-houses.

We hope to show by some simple discriminations, that we have no cause so to despair of ourselves as a people; whatever may be said by foreign tourists who scan our manners in a month, or study our domestic usages in a steamboat. And we offer one of these discriminations, by saying in the first place, that there are certain things, not attaching to us as a people, and yet found among us, which we freely give up to "the whips and scorns" of whosoever pleases to lay upon them the lash and the sting.

The manners, for instance, of some of the members of our legislative assemblies — and must we say? of the highest — we give up; we have not a word to say in defence or extenuation. This only will we say, that if there be men who have found their way into the legislature, rather than the wrestling-ring or the cock-pit — if there be such men who have given the lie, or lifted the hand and struck the

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vulgar blow, in the majestic halls of public debate — if there be such men, who are not made to feel the weight of that dishonor so long as they live, we do not know, and we do not wish to know, the people and the public sentiment of this country. Ah! if they could understand with what bitter and insupportable shame, every American, in every land, hangs his head when these things are mentioned, they might pardon something of the indignation with which we write. We would that our countrymen might be aroused to consider this matter most seriously; and that when such a man presents himself before them for re-election, they would say to him, 'No, sir, we are seeking a statesman, not a pugilist.'

Again; the character of the newspaper press has been made the matter of heavy reproaches against us. It has been made the subject of elaborate articles in the foreign journals. We must think there has been some injustice, some want of discrimination in the case. From the innumerable columns of the daily press, written in haste and weariness often, it might be expected that many objectionable passages could be selected, and when these are spread out side by side, it is easy to see that a false impression may be created. But still no observing and thoughtful man among us can help admitting, unless he be restrained by the sheerest cowardice, that the character of our newspapers deserves much of the reproach that is cast upon it. Many of their editors, we believe, see and feel this as much as others. We have heard more than one of them admit, that even the vexatious prosecutions for libel by one of our distinguished authors, have done good. If nothing of this sort were admitted, if the press stood up in its own defence, we should like to see it tried by its own testimony. Look at the party prints, for instance. What unprincipled, nefarious, outrageous, lying prints are they all, by the judgment of their opponents! But we are afraid we must press this evidence a little farther; into the barriers of the same party. Look at the rival prints of our cities. Within any period of a year or two, we know of one city at least, in which not one of them, nor one of their editors, escapes the charge of being malignant, base, indecent and reckless of all truth and principle. If this were bad taste only, it were bad enough; but certainly it is something much

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worse. The truth is, printing has become almost as common as talking; and we have in it, therefore, almost all the freedom of talk, without the restraints of personal presence. It is, in some sort, like an anonymous letter; always the most reckless and abusive of all writing, because of the veil that covers the attack. In short, we have come to a new era in printing. Newspaper freedom never before tried any people to the same extent; the peril of it, has come upon us unsuspected; we have fallen into the mistakes incident to a new and untried state of things; and we must look to the teachings of experience and to the corrective power of public sentiment, as they have helped us always and everywhere, to help us here.

Much good satire has been expended upon a minor immorality of our manners, in defence of which we have nothing to say but this,—that we never saw the transgression. What may be done in bar-rooms, in steamboats and railroad cars, we say not, we need not describe nor defend it; these places are out-of-doors to many people. But speaking of what passes in-doors, and from thirty or forty years' observation of this country and from a pretty wide circle of intercourse, we say, taxing our memory to the utmost, that we never saw any person spit on a carpet or parlor-floor in America. Wherever the fault lies, there let the reprobation fall; but to multitudes among us, this representation of foreign tourists, as a general one, must be a matter of as unmixed surprise, as if they had said, that we keep bears in our parlors, or settle our fire-side discussions with fisticuffs.

With regard to our manners on the whole, while there is, doubtless, less of ease and polish than in the higher circles of Europe, where men live in and for society almost entirely, and less of a certain civility and kindliness than in the humbler classes abroad, educated for ages to deference and respect; yet there is a self-respect among our people, and a delicacy and consideration of different classes in the treatment of one another, and a freedom from mannerism, from hackneyed and heartless forms — the devices of modern etiquette or the stereotypes of old precision — all of which we value, and value as the results of our better and juster political condition. Manners are the mirror of a people's mind. And we believe that each class in this country,

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as compared with its respective class abroad, will be found from its relative position, to have manners more manly and sincere and more just, as between man and man; the higher less assumption, the lower less sycophancy; and the middling classes decidedly more cultivation.

We are far from anxious, however, to defend our manners in all points. We think it is easy to see that causes are at work, which for a time must have an unfavorable influence in this respect, while in the long run they are to elevate the character, and ultimately indeed the very manners of the people. The case of the nation perhaps may be illustrated by that of an individual. Compare a humble citizen of this country, rising into life and having nothing but his good heart and hand to help him, with the man of a similar class in Europe. There, he is a laborer, always to depend for work and life, for the very soil on which he labors, upon others; a serf in Russia, a poor tenant in England. He is humble, civil, obsequious, quiet; he bears in his whole manner and being the stamp of an inferiority, from which he never hopes to escape; his very dress marks him out as a member of that class; he never aspires to rise above it; he reads little, perhaps he cannot read at all; he thinks little; his ideas revolve in a narrow circle; he agitates no questions of social prudence with his superiors; he scarcely feels himself to be a man in their presence, and in the sense in which they are men; he expects to die as he has lived, and his children are to live as he died; in fine, he is an orderly, decent, useful person, and from the high places of society they look down upon him with complacency, for with them he is never to come into competition. Now look at the humble man of America. He is a backwoods-man, if you please. He owns the soil he treads upon; he pays neither rent nor tithes nor taxes, but by his own consent and that of his peers. He acknowledges no master; he bows to no lord nor land-holder. All this may have an effect, and, for a time, a bad effect upon his manners. He is free, fearless, uncourteous, reckless perhaps in his bearing; he seems almost lawless: the experiment looks not well. The traveller from another country, accustomed to homage from this class, looks upon him with displeasure, perhaps with disgust. He speaks his mind too freely, he does not

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take off his hat with sufficient deference. Something rough and unamiable there *is*, perhaps, in his manner. He has not learned to vindicate himself in the right way. That which is struggling in his bosom, is not to be softened and humanized in a moment. O nature! poor human nature! — through errors and sorrows must thou work out thy welfare; and the thoughtful and considerate must wait for thee a little. Wait then, we say, and look a little farther. Does not this man become in time a far more intelligent being than his fellow in Europe; with a wider range of thought and culture? Is he not more hopeful and strong-hearted? Does he not strike his spade into the soil that is his own, with a more willing energy and a more cheerful hope? Does not the light from the opening sky of his fortunes break clearer and stronger, into the cloud of strife and passion? Yes, he rises. He rises in character, in culture, in dignity and influence. He takes a place in society as hopeless to his brother in the Old World as the possession of fiefs and earldoms. His children after him rise to the highest places in the land.

This is a picture of the man in this country. This, in some sort, is a picture of the country. Is there a man on earth, with a human heart in his bosom, that does not rejoice in the spectacle; that does not sympathize with the experiment; that does not say, God speed it? No, there is no *man*. But there are — and they are not a few — distorted from the shape and nobleness of men, who hate the experiment, and wish it nothing but ill. Clothed in the robes of selfish grandeur, they would as soon think of taking their dogs into an equality with themselves, as of taking the mass of mankind. With this spirit is our quarrel. With this spirit is the quarrel of this country. And by all the hope of Christianity and faith in God, do we trust and believe that this country shall vindicate the great cause which is committed to it.

Yes, humanity — not knighthood nor nobility — the great, wide humanity has its first, perhaps its last, fair, free chance here. Sighing and broken through ages, it wandered to this new world. It struck the virgin soil, and forth, from the great heart of the land, burst the word, FREEDOM! The waters of a thousand spreading bays and shores heard it. The winds took it up, and bore it over

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the wide sea. It smote the sceptre of injustice and oppression. It shook the thrones of the world. This is no mere figure: it is true. There is nothing which all the crowned tyrannies of the world fear and hate, like the example of America. We say not, the *crowns* of the world. We have no hostility to royalty as such. We have no hostility to it, if it can possibly be reconciled with a just and temperate freedom: and we see no necessary incompatibility between the two. But all the injustice that *reigns*, all the tyranny, all the oppression that *reigns* in the world, has its practical controversy now, with the example of America. If we can stand, they must fall. This is the great controversy: and may God defend the right!

Would that it were possible to impress upon the people of this country, a sense of their responsibility to God and men — to the world and to the hopes of future ages. We have humbly attempted to defend our cause against the misgivings of the timid at home, and the mistakes of those who assail us from abroad. The fact is, they do not know this country. We perhaps ought to know better; and yet we, the most of us, have had no opportunity for comparing it with others. We have never seen an American traveller, who in a just and manly spirit has really looked into the state of things in Europe, that did not bless, on his return, the land of his birth. But *they*, we repeat, do not know us. They have no idea of our fortunate condition. They have no idea of the free-hold farms, the neat and thriving villages, and the happy and improving communities that are spread all over this land. They do not know the spirit of this country. And yet we wonder that they do not observe, that almost all the great moral and humane reforms of the age have proceeded from it; Popular Education, the Temperance Reform, the Prison Discipline Reform, the kinder treatment in Asylums for the Insane, the Ministry for the Poor in Cities, and the Peace Society. Can the country be so morally bad, out of which such things have sprung?

But it is time that we should draw to a close. There has been one great example of Republican Government in ancient times, and it failed. We have stood upon its mournful ruins; and when asked there, what most impressed us in Rome, we answered, — "To stand still and

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think that this is Rome!" To stand indeed upon the Janiculum or upon the Gardens of Sallust, and cast your eye around you; to think of the stupendous histories that have made their theatre within the range of your vision; to think what has passed *there*, — there where that momentary glance of your eye falls, — is to submit your mind to a more awful meditation than pertains to any other spot of earth, with one only exception. But those hills upon which has been enthroned the grandeur of successive Empires — what is written upon their now desolate seats? What is the lesson taught to the world by the sublimest history in the world? No historian, we doubt, has answered this question; for the philosophy of history is yet to be written.

But, one question there is above all, which presses itself upon the American traveller, as he gazes upon that theatre of the old Roman story, and that is, — are we, who have set the great modern example of Republican freedom, to be discouraged by the failure of that ancient experiment? Does the awful shadow of the past, that forever lingers amidst those majestic ruins, point to the grand experiment that is passing on these shores, and say, 'it is all in vain!' — to the labors of our statesmen and sages, and say, 'they are all in vain!' — to the blood that has stained our hills and waters, and say, 'it has been spilt in vain!' This is the great question that issues from that sepulchre of Roman grandeur — shall America fail?

God forbid! She must not, she will not fail. Christianity is here. Educated man is here. Vigor and hope, promise and prayer are here. Heaven, that spreads its fair sky over a fertile land, is with us. May it breathe its blessing into our people's heart, rich as our teeming earth; fresh and bright as the light and breezes of our sky!

O. D.

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NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

American Biography. By JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D. *With Additions and Notes.* By F. M. HUBBARD. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1843. 3 vols. 12mo.

THE Harpers deserve the thanks of the American public for this reprint of Belknap's biographies, in a form at once so neat and convenient, in a clear, large type. The edition is enriched with notes and additions by F. M. Hubbard. These additions and notes we have not examined with critical accuracy, but from the cursory survey we have been able to give them, we are convinced that they augment greatly the value of the publication. The additions to the life of Raleigh greatly exceed in quantity the original biography, and very copious notes are given to the lives of John Robinson, Bradford, Brewster, Winthrop, and others. In giving an account of his labors, the Editor says, that he has "re-examined all the statements of facts made by Dr. Belknap, and compared them with the authorities he used, and with others which were not accessible when he wrote. It has been very seldom that he has found occasion to differ from Dr. Belknap, and that most frequently in cases in which documents recently discovered have thrown light upon subjects which the want of them rendered necessarily obscure. It is believed that no work has been published of such magnitude, embracing such a variety of persons and events, and extending over a period of more than six hundred years, in which so few, and those so unimportant, errors are to be found." This is high, and we believe, deserved testimony to the value of Dr. Belknap's work.

Under the biography of John Robinson, we have a note giving some account of Robert Brown, from whom the more rigid among the Puritans took the name of Brownists. Brown was a near relation of Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, who often befriended him in his troubles. He was a violent man, and the "last forty years of his life were passed in obscurity and contempt. He used to boast that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons." Fuller says that he "was of an imperious nature, offended if what he affirmed but in common discourse were not received as an oracle." He adds that he had a wife "with whom for many years he never lived, and a church wherein he never preached." When above eighty years old, he, in a passion, struck a con-

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stable, who came to collect a tax of him, and for his stubbornness before the magistrate was committed, and carried on a feather bed, in a cart, to a jail in Northampton, where he died, in 1630. Mr. Hubbard observes, that "neither by learning, nor weight of character, nor by any historical evidence, can he be considered the *founder* of that sect of ultra Puritans which has borne his name. The sect had existed in much privacy long before him, and were called Brownists not so much from their own choice, as from the purpose of their enemies to bring reproach upon them, by identifying, in the popular opinion, the whole body with the excesses and weakness of that restless and unstable man." Robinson, it is well known, was very anxious that his people should "shake off the name of Brownist, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious, and the professors of it, to the Christian world."

We regret the decision of the Harpers to exclude from the present edition the lives of Cabot, Smith, and Hudson, "for the reason that memoirs of the same individuals, somewhat more full, have been already published by them in former volumes of their series." The lives, as written by Dr. Belknap, are short, and would have added very little to the bulk of the volumes, and the work is incomplete without them. We should have preferred, too, to see the original title to the work retained in full.

L.

The Acts of the Apostles; with Notes, chiefly explanatory; designed for Teachers in Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes, and as an Aid to Family Instruction. By HENRY J. RIPLEY, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties in the Newton Theological Institution. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1844. 12mo. pp. 334.

PROFESSOR RIPLEY'S Notes on the Gospels, published some years ago, enjoy, we believe, a high reputation with the denomination of which he is a member, and have received favorable testimonials from other portions of the religious public. The Notes on the Acts, just issued, must, we should think, meet with a similar friendly reception. The work is really one of no ordinary merit. Keeping in view the object for which it is designed, which is expressed in the title above given, we hesitate not to say that it is well adapted to its end, and is marked by some peculiar excellencies. It is scholar-like, yet simple and intelligible, loaded with no useless learning, yet evincing, by its general spirit and tone, a familiar acquaintance with the best theological literature. It furnishes aid where it is needed, and does not, like many Commentaries and Notes, "encumber"

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one with "help," where he does not require it, while real difficulties are left untouched. The style is pure, and the work throughout breathes an eminently kind and catholic spirit. We do not mean to say, that we coincide with the author in every particular. The manner in which he expresses himself on the subject of baptism, as in the case of the three thousand, and also of the Ethiopian eunuch, sufficiently indicates the denomination (the Baptist) to which he belongs; but there is nothing in the least offensive in his manner of treating the subject. He indulges in no reflections on other sects. His expositions, generally, are not what may be called doctrinal, but are mostly practical. The book shows the immense advance which has been made in the art of popular commentary since the time of Doddridge and Scott. Our Baptist brethren have reason, we think, to congratulate themselves on possessing a Theological Institution, of the good fruits of which the volumes of Professor Ripley present only one out of many specimens. L.

The Sacred Poems of N. P. Willis. (New Mirror — Extra.) New York: Morris, Willis, & Co. 1843. royal 8vo. pp. 16.

Poems of Passion. By N. P. Willis. (New Mirror — Extra.) New York: Morris, Willis, & Co. 1843. royal 8vo. pp. 16.

The *Lady Jane, and other Humorous Poems.* By N. P. Willis. (New Mirror — Extra.) New York: Morris, Willis, & Co. 1844. royal 8vo. pp. 16.

Mr. Willis's name has been for some years familiar to the American public, as a writer of pleasing poetry and graceful, picturesque prose. His earliest poetical productions were written when he was quite young, and were received with very general favor, both from their excellence as poems and from the vein of religious feeling which marked them. Their merit is unquestionable, and it may be doubted whether on the whole he has ever surpassed them. He has written a great deal since, and in a strain of unequal merit; some of his productions being of uncommon beauty, and others not rising above mediocrity.

Mr. Willis subjects his poems to a rather severe test by bringing them together, as he is so decided a mannerist, both in style and thought. There is a marked family likeness between his poems of the same class. The most prominent merits which characterize them all, are ease and grace of expression, a flowing music of versification, a minute delicacy of observation, and an uncommon power in apprehending and reproducing the element of the picturesque. He describes visible objects with great

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vividness and distinctness, and his poetry abounds with those minute touches and hints which show an "eye practised like a blind man's touch." What he most wants is manliness of thought and dignity of sentiment. His poetry is deficient in body and strength. Its quality of thought is often effeminate, its sentiment overstrained, and its delicacy of expression sometimes degenerates into daintiness. It is fair-weather poetry, if we may so speak; that is, poetry to be read when the heart is light and the spirits gay, but not be turned to in those dark hours when we need strains of higher mood to raise, tranquilize and support. It is poetry also which seems exclusively appropriate to youth, (that is, the greater part of it,) and not of that kind which suits a more mature age; and indeed most of it probably was written in youth or early manhood.

Comparing together the three classes into which he has divided his poems, we should assign the first rank to the "Sacred Poems." Among these we especially like "The Belfry Pigeon," which is a very beautiful poem, and written in the happiest vein of his genius, "Saturday Afternoon," and "Lines on leaving Europe." In general, we prefer his simpler pieces to his more elaborate ones. Among the "Poems of Passion," we prefer "Dawn," and "The Annoyer." The former (with the exception of one or two prettinesses) is a poem of uncommon grace, delicacy and sweetness; and the latter is full of light and airy beauty, and well deserves the extensive popularity it has enjoyed. The longer and more elaborate poems of this class, such as the "Dying Alchemist," "Parhassius," &c., are not altogether to our taste. They are rather overwrought and overstrained, and lack simplicity and quiet power. The Humorous Poems seem to us quite indifferent; not excepting "Lady Jane," which has little merit, except that of ingenuity in the rhymes.

H.*

Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Von DR. W. M. L. DE WETTE. Short Exegetical Manual on the New Testament. In two volumes. First volume; second edition. 1838. Second volume; third edition. 1841. Leipsic.

DE WETTE has not had his proper influence upon German theology heretofore, on account of the peculiar philosophy which he has connected with his views of Christian doctrine. Determined to correct this error, and express his opinions of the New Testament without the garb of a philosophical system, he has nearly completed a very plain and compendious Commentary. We have before us the first volume complete and a large part of

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the second volume. He has gone over the Gospels, Acts, Epistles of John, Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians and Thessalonians. We presume the work will be completed during the present year.

Opening its pages in any part, one sees at once the difference between the wants of a German public and our own religious wants. Not written merely for scholars, these volumes give us an idea of the turn which religious inquiry takes in Germany. It might not be just to consider this brief Commentary as intended to guide the mass of the people in their study of the New Testament, although the author boldly insists upon enlightening the whole people upon the essence of religion, and giving them true views of essential Christianity, instead of strengthening them in their traditions. If we are to compare his work with our own popular Commentaries, we must give decided preference, on the ground of edification, to our own Barnes, Hodge, Ripley, and Livermore. But this would be hardly fair, since in a nation so theological as the German, the division of labor is carried very far, and the province of exegesis is as separate from spiritual edification, as in England the office of a surgeon is distinct from that of physician.

To us the present work is rather dry reading. It seems like a catalogue of names and various interpretations. The views of the chief interpreters of Scripture are given respecting each questionable passage, and the author briefly states his own decision upon the point in question. Yet it is hardly right to censure these pages for dulness, since they were intended for a public constantly agitated by new movements in theology and interested in every turn of the great theological conflict. To them the chapters that may seem to us a dry catalogue, dull as the recorded names of some foreign army, may be as interesting as the gazette that contains the names of friends and acquaintances, who have been engaged in a conflict whose result we have been anxiously awaiting.

This book bears constant witness of the influence which the speculations of Strauss have had upon German theology. De Wette is by no means one of his followers, although in his views of the alloy of traditional error in the New Testament he coincides in some points with the great German Rationalist. In one respect he differs entirely from Strauss. He earnestly resists the attempt to explain away the supernatural character of Christ. Of some recorded miracles he doubts, and ascribes some alleged errors to honest belief of erroneous traditions. The miracle of the resurrection he accepts, without dogmatizing upon its mode. He is not disposed to decide fully upon every alleged miracle, but where he doubts, he is willing to allow the

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limit of human knowledge and to regard mystery as not opposed to Christian faith.

He plants himself firmly, in his creed, upon the divine life of Christ, and chiefly regards him as the Founder of the heavenly kingdom — the Giver of that better spirit that has so regenerated the world and opened heaven. He hardly allows that it is necessary for us to authenticate every part of the Evangelical history, since he considers many passages as very enigmatical, and by no means to be taken in their literal signification. He doubts the possibility of a complete explanation of the New Testament, and is willing to learn whatever moral and spiritual lessons he can from passages which do not present to him any other than symbolic truths. He maintains, in his concluding chapter on the Gospels, that prevalent critical controversies do not touch the essentials of primitive faith.

De Wette is not for having one doctrine for the people and another for scholars. He rebukes the disposition of many theologians, especially of those young minds who aspire to Government patronage, to interpret the Bible as if the whole were a rigid statute book, and force a dogmatic meaning in passages where none appears. To the remark that it will endanger the faith of the people, if they are aware that theologians are in doubt concerning many points of Evangelical history, he replies: "The people are under the influence of the clergy. Only be their guides really firm and strong in faith, full of the spirit of truth and love, of vital Christian feeling, and preach Christ, who exists as truly in history as in all Christian hearts, then skepticism will gain no prevalence."

Much might be said of the details of this work, but as our object is only a passing notice, we leave our author now, recommending his pages to all who love varied learning and free thought, and who are willing to pardon errors where truth is the writer's aim. O.

A Glance at our History, Prospects and Duties. A Thanksgiving Discourse preached in the South Congregational Church, Lowell, November 30, 1843. By HENRY A. MILES, Pastor of the South Congregational Society. Lowell: 1844. 8vo. pp. 16.

MUCH good is said of the city of Lowell in this Thanksgiving Discourse, and we doubt not with truth. Not of its wonderful physical growth merely — in brick and mortar, well constructed machinery, and hum of countless spindles, — but what is far better, of the moral character of its population, its edifices for schools, its churches, its industry, its intelligence, its sobriety,

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and the many favorable aspects under which human nature has there developed itself. We can readily credit all Mr. Miles's words of commendation, and the disparity on which he does not formally insist, but to which he alludes, between the condition of Lowell and that of the manufacturing towns in the Old World.

L.

The Relation of the Individual to the Republic. A Sermon preached before his Excellency Marcus Morton, Governor, his Honor Henry H. Childs, Lieutenant Governor, the Honorable Council, and the Legislature of Massachusetts, at the Annual Election, on Wednesday, January 3, 1844. By E. H. Chapin, Pastor of the Universalist Church in Charlestown. Boston: 1844. 8vo. pp. 36.

We have read several of Mr. Chapin's discourses, which are written in a fresh, glowing style, and often contain passages of no little beauty, though they would be occasionally improved by a somewhat more careful pruning. The present sermon does him no discredit, though we think that he has preached and published better. His general topic, as indicated by the title, is the relation that exists between the individual and the State, and the duties, on the one side and on the other, growing out of such relation.

L.

The Christian Doctrine of Charity. A Sermon, delivered before the Howard Benevolent Society, on their thirty-second Anniversary, at the Old South Church, Boston, January 15, 1844. By F. D. Huntington, Minister of the South Congregational Church. Boston: W. Crosby. 1844. 8vo. pp. 26.

Mr Huntington maintains that there is a Christian *doctrine*, as well as spirit, of charity, and this doctrine he finds in the application of Christian truth to the individual; in the principle, "that all charitable exertion, to have any worth or to accomplish any great result, must spring from individual goodness." He considers the relations which the State, which benevolent associations, and which the Church sustains to the great and difficult problem of poverty, and then examines the duty of the individual in the matter of benevolent effort, flowing as it should from a true sympathy with the object of his care. The discourse is worthy of the excellent occasion on which it was delivered.

G.

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A Rejected Article, in reply to Parker's Review of "Hennell on the Origin of Christianity." Offered first to the Dial; then to the Christian Examiner. By a UNITARIAN MINISTER. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1844. 8vo. pp. 32.

THE title page of this pamphlet shows that we had declined its insertion as an article in our journal. We presume its readers will discover the grounds on which we came to this decision. The object of the writer is to convict the author of an article in the *Dial* of infidelity — "clear and unequivocal infidelity." For this purpose he examines the statements of Hennell which his reviewer seems to approve, and cites passages from the pen of the reviewer himself. The pamphlet is evidently the production of a sincere mind, moved by a strong sense of duty to expose the character of errors which had been promulgated in the community to which he belongs; but we very much doubt whether the tone of discussion which he has assumed will favor the end he has in view. G.

Letters on the Ministry, Ritual, and Doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church, addressed to the Rev. Wm. E. Wyatt, D. D., Associate Minister of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, &c. By JARED SPARKS, formerly Minister of the First Independent Church of Baltimore. Second Edition. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 240.

THESE Letters were originally published more than twenty years ago. The assumptions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which have recently excited no little attention on both sides of the Atlantic, have occasioned their republication, and we do not see but that they are as applicable to the present time as to the period when they were written. The general subject is awakening even more interest than was then felt in it. The origin and character of the Christian ministry, the claim to Apostolic succession, and the authority of the Ritual, are topics now under discussion. These very naturally connect themselves with the authority of the Church in matters of faith; with the doctrinal character of the Thirty-nine Articles; with the doctrine of the Trinity, contained both in the Articles and the Litany, and with the exposition of texts of Scripture supposed to favor it, — and such are the general topics of the Letters. They are written in Mr. Sparks's usual simple and perspicuous style, and are adapted to the comprehension of the general reader. We gladly welcome this second edition of them. It is in a neat and convenient form, and the thanks of the community are due to the Charleston Unitarian Book and Tract Society, for which, as we see, it is published, for causing it to be issued at the present time. L.

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INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The Churches. — The space of a month, since the publication of our last number, has furnished little intelligence of any change in the condition of our churches. So far as our knowledge extends, they are, with scarcely an exception, visibly prosperous and internally harmonious. The health of several of our ministers has been impaired by their professional labors. Rev. Mr. Muzzey of Cambridge, who derived but little benefit from his recent visit to Europe, has since his return suffered from severe illness. Rev. Mr. Bates of Ashby has been obliged to seek the effect of a West India climate upon his health. Other clergymen have found it necessary to suspend their public duties for a short period. — In the city of New York great interest is shown in the ministrations of our pulpits. The "church of the Messiah" is crowded, and the First Unitarian Society, under Rev. Mr. Bellows, who lately sold their former house of worship, both because it was too small for their numbers and needed repairs, have just purchased an eligible situation in the upper part of the city, on Broadway, for the erection of a new church. — The Unitarian congregation at Brooklyn, N. Y., have completed their beautiful church, which is to be dedicated about the first of April. — A Unitarian Association has been organized in the city of Hartford, Conn., with a view to the establishment of a religious society. — The Unitarian Society at Milwaukie, W. T., having completed the house which they had been erecting the past season, it was dedicated December 15, 1843. At the same time a church was gathered, and the Lord's supper administered. The services were conducted by Rev. Mr. Harrington of Chicago.

Montreal Unitarian Society. — The members of the Unitarian congregation in Montreal, Canada, held a meeting on the 25th of December, 1843, at which a Report was made of the success which has attended their efforts within the last year to establish permanent religious services among themselves. Rev. John Cordner, who graduated at the Belfast Academical Institution, Ireland, and was ordained, with a view to his residence in Montreal, before leaving that country, arrived among them about the 1st of November, and immediately entered upon his labors, which have been highly acceptable and useful. In the course of the last summer "a most eligible lot of ground" was purchased for the erection of a church; "a plan, combining elegance and simplicity, has been adopted for the building;" and a subscription raised, amounting to £900, or about one half of the probable cost. They hope to receive additional subscriptions "within the Province," and assistance from the United States. They think that "as a society, they have reason to be cheered and animated with the prospect" before them. Under the editorial charge, as we presume, of Mr. Cordner, the publication of a monthly sheet has been

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undertaken, the first number of which has been received by us, and seems well suited to the objects which it is intended to promote. These are stated to be, "to lay before the public, from time to time, such specimens of our religious literature as may serve to exhibit the genius and character of our theological system, and thus correct prevalent misconceptions; and to convey to our friends, in this part of the world, such intelligence of the proceedings of our brethren in the faith elsewhere, as may be both interesting and instructive to them;" "to encourage free inquiry, to advocate tolerance and forbearance among Christians, to collect and concentrate the Unitarian opinion of Canada, and to extend the influence of truth, holiness, liberty, and love" — which four words compose the motto of the paper. It is called "The Bible Christian," and is furnished to subscribers at 2*s.* 6*d.* a year.

Unitarian Paper in Western New York. — We have received three numbers of "The Primitive Christian," a journal recently established by Elder Jabez Chadwick, in Bath, Steuben county, N. Y. It is issued once in two weeks, in an octavo sheet of sixteen pages, and has for its design, "to present as clear a view as possible of the Christian religion as it was taught by Jesus Christ and his Apostles" — to give an answer to the question, "What was primitive Christianity?" In pursuance of this object, the editor announces that he shall "advocate the simple unity of God — the Sonship and pre-existence, but not self-existence, of Jesus Christ — his mission, and sacrifice for the salvation of men — the free grace of God in the Gospel, and the sufficiency of its provisions for all who are willing to accept them — the sinfulness of mankind, and the necessity of the new birth — the doctrines of repentance and faith, as connected with forgiveness and salvation — and the indispensable necessity of new obedience. He will insist on the duties of love to God and our neighbor, prayer, self-denial, baptism, the Lord's Supper, the keeping of the Sabbath, purity of conversation, speaking the truth in love, fidelity in dealings and intercourse, union among Christians, and perseverance in faith and good works to the end, the resurrection from the dead, and the retributions of the final judgment. He will deem it his duty faithfully to reprove vice in all its forms, and to dissuade from its commission." Mr. Chadwick was formerly a Presbyterian minister at Pompey, N. Y., and became, a year or two since, a Unitarian. His paper, we doubt not, will disseminate correct views of religion in that region.

The Episcopal Church. — The public attention at this time is particularly drawn to the dissensions in the bosom of the Episcopal Church, at the very moment when the unreasonable pretensions of that Church are thrust into notice by some of its over-zealous supporters. The ordination, some months since, in New York, of a gentleman who had acknowledged his sympathy with many of the opinions maintained by the "Puseyite" party in England, was at the time the occasion of remonstrance on the part of two clergymen, who endeavored, by authorized methods, to arrest the proceedings, but were overpowered by the violent and despotic conduct of the Bishop. As might have been expected, new fuel was added to the controversy

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which was then beginning to shoot out its angry flames, and the difference which had already disturbed the peace, now threatens the stability of the Episcopal Communion. Bishops Chase of Illinois, Hopkins of Vermont, and McIlvaine of Ohio, having publicly expressed their disapprobation of the course taken by Bishop Onderdonk of New York, he has solemnly called upon them to present charges against him to the highest judicature known in the Episcopal body. The controversy has not yet therefore reached its height. On one account only can we have any feeling but pain at the spectacle which is here exhibited; — because it may, and must expose the emptiness of the claim which the Episcopal Church has always advanced to respect, for the *unity* which it cherishes. Neither Articles nor canons, a Liturgy nor a priesthood can prevent difference of opinion; and where men will not "agree to differ," their difference must issue in heart-burning and strife.

The controversy between Dr. Wainwright and Dr. Potts, as we anticipated, has resulted only — in no result. After a tedious correspondence, in which each party complained of the other for want of adherence to the point in debate, and a foolish attempt, on the part of each, to fasten on his opponent the charge of soliciting the discussion, it has been abruptly closed, so far as it bore the character of a correspondence between the parties; who now propose to continue, each his own argument in a separate course of communication to the public press. We may take this occasion to correct a slight inaccuracy in our notice of this discussion in our last number, where we spoke of Mr. Choate's allusion to the Puritans as founders of "a State without a King, and a Church without a Bishop." Mr. Choate's remark was, that the exiles found such a State and such a Church at Geneva.

Ordinations. — Mr. Edward Burke Willson, from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the Second Congregational Society in Grafton, Mass., January 10, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Noyes of Cambridge, from 1 Corinthians ii. 2; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Willson of Montague, father of the young minister; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Weiss of Watertown; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Palfrey, late pastor of the Society; and the other services were by Rev. Mr. May of Leicester, and Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell.

Mr. James Blodgett, from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the First Congregational Society in Deerfield, Mass., January 17, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Frost of Concord, from Hebrews iv. 12; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Willard of Deerfield, the venerable minister, in former years, of the Society; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Willson of Grafton; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Wellington of Manchester, N. H.; and the other services, by Rev. Mr. Ellis of Northampton, Rev. Mr. Everett of Northfield, and Rev. Mr. Harding of New Salem.

Mr. Frederic Augustus Whitney, of Quincy, a graduate of the Divinity School at Cambridge, was ordained over the First Congre-

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gational Society in BRIGHTON, Mass., February 21, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Putnam of Roxbury, from 1 Corinthians iii. 22, 23; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Stetson of Medford; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lunt of Quincy; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Ellis of Charlestown; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Mr. Newell of Cambridge, Rev. Mr. Weiss of Watertown, and Rev. Mr. Ware of West Cambridge.

Mr. NORWOOD DAMON, of West Cambridge, was ordained Colleague Pastor with Rev. Charles Wellington, over the First Congregational Society in TEMPLETON, Mass., February 21, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, from Matthew v. 47; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Gage of Petersham; Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester gave the Charge; Rev. Mr. Willson of Grafton, the Right Hand of Fellowship; and Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre, the Address to the Society; the other services were by Rev. Mr. Dean of Westminster, Rev. Mr. Bradford of Hubbardston, and Rev. Mr. Wellington, the senior pastor.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Harvard University. — The Annual Report of the President of the University to the Overseers, on the state of the Institution for the academical year 1842–43, together with the Treasurer's Statement, has just been printed, and presents a favorable view of the condition of the University. The President, after adverting to an "unhappy difficulty," in the Senior Class, which occurred several months since, adds, that he "cannot too strongly express his gratification at the marked obedience to the laws of the College and the exemplary attention to its exercises and studies, which have characterised the members of the Institution during the past six months of the current academical year, and which have left, in these respects, generally speaking, but little to be desired or hoped for." The Treasurer acknowledges "the receipt of a part of two very liberal contributions to the College funds; namely, the subscription, made last year, of $21,000 to the Library, and that which has been raised this year, of $25,000 for a Telescope and Observatory. Several thousand dollars have been paid on each, and the whole will now be shortly collected." Large orders for books have been sent to Europe, and a contract has been made with Messrs. Merz and Mahler of Munich, successors of Frauenhoffer, for a complete and perfect telescope of the best construction. The time required for its completion is three years from last September; the price, $17,892. "Among the gratifying proofs of interest and confidence in the College recently given," the Treasurer remarks, "not the least agreeable is the contribution, by those of the alumni who have formed themselves into a Society, of the sum of $2,336,05 for the purpose of preparing a room for the annual meetings;" which was effected by an alteration of the lower story of Harvard Hall.

The Treasurer, after noticing these evidences of public liberality, exhibits the effect which they actually have upon the ability of the College to furnish education at a cheap rate, and shows that "as

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each donation is made for a specific object, nothing is effected towards increasing the unappropriated funds of the College; or, in other words, of diminishing the cost of education to the students." This remark applies with equal force to most of the benefactions made in former years. "Of the seventeen professorships established by private benefactions, only two [the Rumford and Fisher foundations] have funds sufficient to meet the expense of adequate salaries to the incumbents; and *the deficiency of the funds of the others amounts to about one-half of the capital required for the purpose.*" It is the more important that the truth on this subject should be made known, because an impression prevails very widely, that Harvard College is a wealthy institution, and ought therefore to afford the means of education at a lower rate than similar institutions less liberally endowed. And when we read that the funds of the University amount to nearly $700,000, this impression may seem to be correct. But of this amount, $130,000 are appropriated to the Departments of Law and Theology, separately from their connexion with the *College*, and of the remaining $570,000, by far the greater part is so limited to specific uses by the terms under which it was given, that it cannot, without abuse and forfeiture of trust, be made available for the general expenses of the institution. "The general, unappropriated fund of the College," the Treasurer states, "is $150,000;" the income of which, at five per cent, is $7,500; while the actual amount of annual expense *beyond the income of the funds given for professorships* is nearly $20,000; and this, an expense resulting mainly from the necessity of either supplying the deficiency in the income of the foundations for professorships, or leaving them vacant, and the students so far without instruction. The Treasurer gives a forcible representation of the wants of the College, and expresses his hope that future benefactors will "leave or give their money to the general purposes of the institution," rather than to the endowment of new professorships.

One additional professorship, however, not in the College, but in the Theological Department of the University, is imperiously demanded by a sense of justice both to the gentlemen who now fill the places of theological instruction at Cambridge, and to the young men who go there to pursue their preparation for the ministry. We need only copy the list of duties assigned to Professors Noyes and Francis, (besides the incidental services of preaching in the College chapel, attending College prayers, and other engagements growing out of their connexion with the College,) to show how utterly impossible it is, that they should furnish, in such various branches, the instruction which is needed. "To the Parkman Professor (Dr. Francis) are allotted the branches of Natural Religion, Ecclesiastical History, Church Polity, the Composition and Delivery of Sermons, and the Duties of the Pastoral Office"! To the Hancock Professor, (Dr. Noyes) the Evidences of Christianity, Dogmatic Theology, the Criticism and Interpretation of the Old and the New Testaments, and the Hebrew Language"! In a document of a less serious nature, such a description of official duties might be taken for irony.

Since the date of the Treasurer's Report, another bequest has fallen to the College, which we are glad to learn is left without restriction. The late Israel Munson Esq. of this city, among other legacies to public institutions, ($20,000, for example, to the Massachusetts

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General Hospital, and $15,000 to Yale College,) left $15,000 to Harvard College.

At the semi-annual meeting of the Board of Overseers, held by successive adjournments, in January and February, 1844, besides the usual business of receiving reports from the Examining Committees of the last year, and appointing the Committees for the present year, three vacancies were filled, which had arisen from the resignation of their seats at the Board by Rev. Dr. Gray of Roxbury, and Hon. Artemas Ward and Hon. John Welles of Boston. Rev. George Putnam of Roxbury was once declared elected in place of Dr. Gray, and James Jackson, M. D. of Boston, and Hon. Samuel H. Walley, Jr. of Roxbury, were chosen to fill the other vacancies. At an adjourned meeting subsequent to that in which the ballots were taken for the clerical member, a long debate ensued on a motion to reconsider the vote by which Mr. Putnam was declared elected, on the ground of the impropriety, or illegality of a rule of the Board requiring that all votes in such a case should be given for persons whose names had been previously placed upon the nomination list. The vote was reconsidered, the rule being thus pronounced void, and the Board again balloting, Rev. William M. Rogers of this city was elected.

Science and Religion. — We find in recent English journals mention of a bequest, which, if we understand the terms, provides for the payment, once in every seven years, of five hundred dollars to the author of the best essay on some subject, to be designated by a committee, illustrating the confirmation which science may give to faith in an infinitely wise and good Creator. We copy the article as we find it.

"'Acton Endowment' for Theological Publications. — Another of the bequests, the example of which was set by the late Earl of Bridgewater, under whose will the 'Treatises' that bear his name were produced, has lately come under our notice. It is called the 'Acton Endowment,' and was left by the widow of the late Samuel Acton, the architect; and the trustees are empowered, on the first day of January, 1845, to award and pay the sum of one hundred and five pounds as a reward or prize to the person who shall, in the judgment of the committee of managers for the time being of the Royal Institution, be the author of the best essay illustrative of the wisdom and beneficence of the Almighty, in such department of science as the committee of managers for the time being shall in their discretion select; such essay to be written and produced under and subject to such terms and conditions as the committee of managers shall prescribe. In case no such essay be received by the time specified, or none that is satisfactory to the committee, then it will be lawful for the committee to reserve the amount of such reward, and to suspend the payment thereof, and to add the said sum of one hundred and five pounds to the like sum of one hundred and five pounds, to be appropriated for a succeeding period of seven years, and to award and pay both the sums of one hundred and five pounds to the author of the best essay on the subject, which shall be written and delivered within such period of seven years, if the committee of managers shall think proper so to do; or, the committee of managers shall be at liberty to award and give a prize of one hundred and five pounds each to the authors of the two best essays on the subject; and so from time to time, as often as it shall happen that no such essay shall be received by the committee in any period of seven

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years, which in their judgment shall be of sufficient merit to entitle the author to the reward of one hundred and five pounds, it shall be lawful for the committee of managers to reserve the same, and to award and pay the same to the author or authors of any such essay or essays in any succeeding period of seven years."

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Address of English Unitarians. — We insert the following paper, although it has appeared in our weekly journals, for two reasons. First, because it was sent to the former Editor of the *Examiner*, as stated by him in his last number, that it might be communicated to those for whom it was intended through the pages of this journal; but was not received till the printing of the number had too far advanced to admit of its insertion. The Editor, in acknowledging its receipt, signified his intention to send a copy of the Address "to every clergyman with his Examiner." This, however, was not found practicable. It seems to us therefore but an act of proper courtesy on our part, to place the article before our readers, omitting only the signatures, which are given in full in the original document, and which would occupy an undue space here. The publication of the names we do not conceive to be important, as but few of our readers have such personal, or other, acquaintance with our English brethren as would be a ground of recognition on examining the list. The whole number of signatures is 185; among which we find those of many of the most respectable ministers of our faith in Great Britain and Ireland, while other names of equal weight do not appear. Our other reason for reprinting this Address is the character which belongs to it as a document of some interest, in the history of our denomination. This is the first instance, we believe, in which a communication, having the pretension and sanction which belong to this paper, has been addressed by Unitarians on one side of the Atlantic to their brethren on the other side. It may introduce a practice, the origin of which shall hereafter be a subject of inquiry. We notice already that a meeting of Unitarian clergymen has been called, to consider whether any reply shall be made to the Address.

We cannot however insert this paper without expressing a doubt of the propriety of the course adopted by its signers. On the question to which it refers, more than on most, or perhaps any other, it seems to us that it is almost impossible for the people of one country to understand the relations and views, the difficulties and duties, of the people of another country. The position of this subject among us is not understood in England; and the counsel, however well intended, which our friends there can give us only in their ignorance, it would be better, we think, to withhold. Nor do we wholly approve of the tone of the Address. Courteous in its form of expression, it is yet an appeal to the conscience of the Unitarian clergy of the United States, and involves the imputation of a want of fidelity to the principles by which they should be governed. Such an imputation, however courteously or delicately expressed, should have been avoided, at least in the absence of more sufficient grounds of judgment.

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"AN ADDRESS

From the undersigned Unitarian Ministers of Great Britain and Ireland, to their Ministerial Brethren of the Unitarian Churches in the United States of North America.

[Hebrews x. 24.]

"*Reverend and Dear Brethren:* — We, the undersigned Ministers of Great Britain and Ireland, uniting in the belief and worship of the FATHER, as the one, only, and true God, — in the name of the one Lord JESUS CHRIST, — desire to convey to you the expression of our brotherly regard, and of our earnest sympathy in your spiritual labors, as workmen in the vineyard of the Gospel, and gifted teachers of the truth as it is in Jesus.

"We have hailed from time to time the tidings of your stedfastness amidst many perils, and of your progress in the face of many difficulties. From the works which you have given to the world, often we have derived the highest benefit, and the purest light. Your names are in all our churches; and it is our joy to feel that we are united in sentiment, and are soldiers together of Christ, in the great contest which is waging between light and darkness, truth and error, evil and good, throughout the nominally civilized and Christian world. In particular, we devoutly thank the Father of lights, and Giver of every good, for the benefit derived to so wide a portion of mankind, — and the comfort, support and example, afforded to ourselves, — from the intellectual glory, the Christian devotedness, and the untiring and consistent zeal, manifested in the pure life and transcendent writings of your and our departed Brother, the ever to be remembered and revered WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING; in union with whose name our grateful but mournful recollection would recal that of his meek-hearted but heroic fellow-laborer, CHARLES FOLLEN.

"Believing that the testimony of these great and good men was designed by a merciful God, to operate on our own hearts, and stimulate us to a like course of holy doing, we pray of you, Christian Brethren, to pardon us in suggesting that, under God and the Lord Jesus, to YOU next we turn, in hope that the exalting influences begun or fostered by them may be carried to their glorious consummation; and that for your honor, for our joy, and for their dear memory's sake, the voice they lifted, especially in behalf of the unhappy Slave, may not be suffered to pass away without a due response from your lips, and the unshrinking and devoted support of your Christian and ministerial energies.

"We will not suppose, Christian Brethren, that you, any more than we, can have any doubts as to the deep wrong of MAN HOLDING MAN AS A SLAVE. We assure ourselves of your concurrence and sympathy, when we utterly deny that any human being has, or ever can have, a right to make another his CHATTEL. And believing that no example, no prescription, or time, or place, can warrant it, — we anticipate the cordial coincidence of your desire with ours, that, on that pure form of truth, — to us so precious in our common UNITARIANISM, — no such stain should rest, as the extending of any countenance to so foul and fearful an institution as that of SLAVERY.

"Nevertheless, Brethren, we are not unaware, in our own experience of great social and public questions, how easily the mind may be reconciled to *inaction*, where inconvenience or sacrifice, — so apt

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to inspire an unwise distrust in our means of good, — may happen to lie in the way of more active and immediate endeavors to give effect to our inward convictions. As professors, ourselves, of a form of faith everywhere spoken against, — and especially in a country where institutions, political as well as religious, so formidably aggravate the evil, — we can witness to the difficulty of bearing our testimony to unpopular truth. Though tolerated, we are *stigmatized*, by the State. And while sharing with others in the odium of DISSENT, have, through this unfriendly leaning of the law, to incur the added evil of being singled out as objects of legitimate denunciation for HERESY. But we have no choice. If we would be imitators of our Master, we must be faithful; and, to be worthy of him, must cheerfully bear our cross, and endure our reproach.

"Circumstanced thus, may we not, in reference to the position you occupy on a question so bound up with the honor of our faith, and the welfare and hopes of an extended portion of the family of man, be the more freely allowed to give utterance to our wish that our Brethren in America should be seen to stand out amongst those, — yea, be foremost and first of those, — who raise their solemn PROTEST against SLAVERY, — as a CRIME against our common human nature!

"We wish you to be assured, dear Brethren, that while we know, or can readily conceive, the practical difficulties thrown around the question, it were to us inestimable evidence of the energy and worth of our faith, and a title in them to our increased affection and esteem, could we behold our fellow-ministers in America, eager to embrace, and diligent in devising, *the means of overcoming those difficulties, and sedulous in subduing the prejudices by which they are multiplied and strengthened.*

"We do not presume to point out the particular modes in which such action can best be brought to bear on the awful evil against which we are prompted, by this humble attempt, to strengthen your hearts and hands; but we cannot doubt that so enlightened, respected, and pious a body as the Unitarian Ministers of the United States, must exercise an influence of no unimportant amount in any question affecting the social and moral condition of the community in which they live. We rejoice, indeed, in the growing demonstrations that among minds of a high order in your country, the means begin to suggest themselves whereby a more determinate and effective expression may be given to their best aspirations and convictions, in regard to Slavery. And while, in the general tone of a recent article in one of your leading periodicals, — 'The Boston Christian Examiner,' in its number for July of this year, — we hail an omen of auspicious promise, we cannot too warmly acknowledge the satisfaction and delight afforded us from the hope held out in the following passage in particular, at page 280: —

'Our ecclesiastical bodies,' it is there said, 'are more or less intimately connected with the Southern Church; and *their unanimous, decided, and strong sentiment* will soon find a response from every devout and intelligent Christian at the South, and will awake to sincere penitence and a better mind those portions of the Southern Church, which have entered into willing compact with this iniquity.'

"To the weight of these words, we feel that we can have but little to add. Only we would say, — May the wisdom and spirit

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which are from above enable you to resolve on, and quicken you to perform, the holy work to which you are called! By the love of our Redeemer, by the bonds of our common faith, by the memory of the great and good, whose thrilling tones in behalf of their oppressed Brother have come to us from your shores, as a voice from heaven, — we pray you be not slack or timid in aiding or urging 'to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free.' Let not the foulest of wrongs lift its head unrebuked in the presence of the holiest of truth. Assist us in vindicating for UNITARIANISM her just position among the beneficent agencies in the world. Let it be seen that the faith of ONE GOD, the Father of ALL, — has power to unite us in unswerving efforts for the good of His children of every condition and hue. And, while praying for its efficacy on ourselves, enable us to point to those who maintain it among you, as conspicuous fellow-laborers and helpers in accomplishing that great work in the bosom of their own nation, — of striking the chains from their fellow-man, and thereby of freeing their country from an odium, Christianity from a stain, and the world from a plague, which now so heavily and deeply lie upon them.

"'THE NIGHT COMETH WHEN NO MAN CAN WORK.' The warning contained in these words, — at all times how solemn! — how peculiarly impressive at this! Even now, while we are yet speaking, the tidings have fallen on us, of other departures of the excellent from among you; and the loss, almost simultaneous, (within one short year since we had to mourn for a CHANNING,) of a GREENWOOD, and a WARE, would seem to have come, as if in appropriate but afflicting admonition of the lesson of our mortality!

"Brethren! 'our hearts are enlarged unto you;' and in very love we pray, may the spirit of the Lord Jesus be with you and in you; and may it give you good consolation, and abundant understanding in this and in all things.

"We remain, Reverend and dear Brethren,
Your faithful well-wishers, and
Dec. 1, 1843. Humble fellow-laborers in the Gospel."

OBITUARY.

Rev. JOSHUA LEONARD died at Auburn, N. Y., December 18, 1843, aged 74 years. Mr. Leonard was a native of Raynham, Mass.; received his collegiate education at Brown University; was settled in the ministry at Ellington, Conn.; removed afterwards to Cazenovia, N. Y., then on the border of Western emigration, and there gathered a church, of which he became the pastor; but after a ministry of fourteen years relinquished his charge on account of ill health. During this period he was a zealous member of the Presbyterian Church, but in later years he modified his views, became the advocate of a more liberal theology, and recently took an active part in the formation of the Unitarian Society in Syracuse, N. Y. After his secession from the Presbyterian Communion he published a work in explanation of his views, entitled "Solemn Reasons for believing that God is one, and for withholding assent to the proposition that God is three." These views, which he had adopted from conviction, sustained him through a painful illness and in the hour of death. E.

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Levi Hedge, LL. D. died at Cambridge, Mass., January 3, 1844, aged 67 years. Dr. Hedge was a native of Hardwick in this State, and was graduated at Harvard University in 1792. His whole life, from his childhood, may be said to have been connected with the University. In 1795 he was appointed Tutor; and subsequently received the appointment of Permanent Tutor; in 1810 he was made College Professor of Logic and Metaphysics; and in 1827 was transferred to the Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity. In 1830 an attack of paralysis affected him so seriously that in a few months he resigned this place, after having held an official connexion with the College for more than thirty-five years. He is remembered by many pupils, scattered over the Union, as a faithful instructor and kind friend. He will long be remembered by those who knew him intimately, as a good man and an humble believer in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. e.

Rev. James H. Sayward died at Fitzwilliam, N. H., January 13, 1844, aged 35 years. Mr. Sayward was born in Gloucester, Mass.; pursued his studies for the ministry at Cambridge; was settled as pastor over the First Congregational Society in Mansfield, Mass., where he remained two years; afterwards for a time relinquished professional labors; but subsequently resumed them, and after preaching in other places, was permanently connected with the Unitarian Society at Fitzwilliam; where he had resided however but little more than a year at the time of his death; which was occasioned by disease upon the lungs. In the discourse delivered at his funeral, by Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene, N. H., extracts from which have appeared in our journals, Mr. Livermore describes his character as deriving its "unity" from his desire to promote the doctrinal principles of Christianity, and its application to the moral evils that overspread society. "If his ministry could be characterised by one word, that word would be zeal." His remains were conveyed to Mansfield, and interred in the place where he began his ministry, and where he was still affectionately remembered. e.

Thomas Whitney, Esq. died at Shirley, Mass., January 14, 1844, aged 73 years. Mr. Whitney was a native of Shirley, and a son of the first minister of that town. No better indication could have been given of the confidence which his character inspired among those who knew him, than the fact that for forty successive years he held the office of town-clerk, and the still more singular fact that amidst all the political changes of the times he retained the office of postmaster during the last thirty-three years of his life. In his testamentary bequests he made provision for the support of the ministry in the society with which he had so long been connected. e.

Mr. John L. Hatch died at New Orleans, La., January 18, 1844, aged 23 years. Mr. Hatch was a native of Falmouth, Mass., and in youth was apprenticed to a tailor, whose trade he followed for a time; but feeling a strong desire to become a preacher of the Gospel, he was enabled, through the liberality of Christian friends in this city, to spend a term at Exeter Academy in pursuing the preparatory studies. His health however failed, and symptoms of pulmonary disease mani-

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fested themselves; he went to the South in the hope of restoration; but there died among strangers, yet among friends. E.

George William Wood, Esq. M. P. died at Manchester, England, October 3, 1843. Mr. Wood was known to Unitarians this side of the water, through the publications of our brethren in England, as the sincere and consistent supporter in private and public life of the religious opinions which he embraced from conviction. He was one of those unpretending and unaffected persons, who with wealth and dignity to give them notoriety if they should seek it, prefer to *leave* an impression, rather than to *make* one. He was a plain English gentleman, of simple manners, easy and natural address, and a kind heart. He was a man of sincere religious principle, liberally sustaining Christian institutions and charities, and always open to the appeals of benevolence. He was one of the few public men in England who were willing to bear the odium, and submit to what but lately were the disqualifications, and are now the social prejudices, of an open profession and support of Unitarianism.

Mr. Wood was the eldest son of the late Rev. William Wood, F. L. S., of Leeds, and was born in 1781. He received a commercial education, and became a partner in a firm doing a very extensive business, in Manchester. He took a prominent part in the municipal affairs of that town, and was one of a deputation sent to London at an important crisis to obtain a revocation of the Orders in Council. Thus he was introduced to the politics and the political characters of the time. He conceived and developed the earliest idea of the Savings' Bank and of the Royal Institution at Manchester, and was President of the Chamber of Commerce in that town. In the first Reformed Parliament he represented the Southern division of the County of Lancaster, when he introduced a Bill for the admission of Non-Episcopalians into the English Universities, which passed the House of Commons, but was defeated in the House of Lords. The hostility thus excited against him contributed to prevent his re-election for the same representation in 1835. In 1837 he was elected for the borough of Kendal, and retained his seat to the day of his death, which took place while he was at tea in the rooms of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Manchester, of which he was a Vice President.

We have taken some of these facts from a Discourse delivered on the occasion of Mr. Wood's death, by his pastor, Rev. J. J. Tayler, in which his example is presented in proof of the place which laymen may fill, and the influence they may exert in upholding great public institutions, as well as in exhibiting their personal reverence for religion. "An active and enlightened laity," Mr. Tayler maintains, is "essential to the prosperity of the Christian Church." E.

*** On account of the length of our last article of Miscellany, which we were unwilling either to divide or abridge, we have added twelve pages to the present number; not however with an intention of reducing the size of the next number, nor, on the other hand, of again exceeding our usual quantity of matter.

*** In our last number, page 104, line 7, "prescribed" should have been "presented," as it was in the manuscript.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MAY, 1844.

Art. I. — PREACHING.*

Notwithstanding all the declamation about the progress of the age, the insufficiency of established institutions to meet its wants, and especially the decline of the influence of the church and ministry, the pulpit stands unshaken, and preaching *wears* far better than any other mode of instruction. Founded in the truth of God and the needs of the soul, the preacher's office rests upon a rock, and cannot be destroyed either by the unbeliever or the sectarian, by the worldling who would supplant it by unhallowed excitements, or the bigot who would nullify its power by angry strifes regarding clerical legitimacy.

The progress of society and of Christian knowledge has indeed made great changes in the character and functions of the ministry, and abolished many corruptions and superstitions. But the office still remains, and must remain so long as the truth of God needs to be addressed to the wants of the human soul. We are aware that not a few predict

* *Ecclesiastes Anglicanus: being a Treatise on Preaching, as adapted to a Church of England Congregation, in a Series of Letters to a Young Clergyman.* By the Rev. W. Gresley, M. A. First American edition, with supplementary notes, by the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, M. A. New York: Appleton & Co. 1843. 12mo. pp. 340.

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the downfall of the pulpit, or at least a transfer of its functions to another sphere. Some maintain that the popular lecturer is soon to supplant the preacher, and the Lyceum to stand on the ruins of the Church. We heard a lecturer remark, a short time since, while addressing some three or four hundred people, that the lyceum was the true church of the age, and would supersede all other pulpits! Yet even now the passion for lectures is on the wane. Although delivered only during a single season of the year, and generally by men of popular gifts, lectures hardly keep their place in the public mind. In some of our cities they have already begun to decline, whilst crowds still throng to the churches, and it would be difficult to point out any period in which religion and theology have had a larger place in the general conversation of society than they have at present. The lyceum has its office, and we rejoice in its power. Nay, instead of quarrelling with its purpose, we would bless its influence; and are sorry that its friends should ever be so rash as to put it in opposition to the church. Its office is mainly to give intellectual entertainment and instruction. Even in this sphere it owes its principal support to the friends of the church, not a little to the labors of preachers. Success to the lyceum! May it be saved from the mischief of its injudicious friends. Men want and wish to hear preaching, but they do not desire to hear it at the lyceum. More people go to church than to any other meeting. There are no tokens that this custom will soon be changed.

Were the traditions of the Church to be entirely destroyed, and the power of past ages over us to be entirely broken, and society left perfectly free to reorganize itself from its inherent elements, it is obvious that among the several offices that would spring up to meet the intrinsic wants of man, the calling of the religious teacher would occupy a prominent place. The sense of supernatural power, the need of moral guidance, the craving for spiritual peace, would create a demand for a religious ministry, that could not long be denied. In fact, wherever men have declared themselves entirely freed from tradition and unfettered by authority, and have abolished the distinction between clergy and laity, they have soon virtually restored it. They have found, that however freely the liberty to preach

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may be extended to the whole brotherhood of believers, only a few avail themselves of it, and, as in the case of the Quakers, some one or two individuals gradually become the preachers to the congregation as regularly, we will not say as wisely, as if they had been set apart by Ordination. The obvious principle of the division of labor must assign to each man the work that he can best do. And since God, who ever remembers the wants of his children, and provides alike for their physical and moral needs, has given to some minds especial delight in spiritual studies and especial power to enforce spiritual truth, it is evident that the office of the preacher should devolve upon a distinct order of men, just as the other callings of mankind devolve upon distinct trades and professions.

But we are rather digressing from our point. Our aim is not to defend the pulpit, but to say something upon the better performance of its duties, and to speak particularly of the remarkable progress of extemporaneous speaking in our nation, as bearing upon the culture of the preacher.

The book, the title of which is given at the beginning of this article, is well worth the reading. It has far more good sense than one would expect from the Oxfordism of the author and the parade with which the American edition is introduced. The author's name is very modestly given, but the editor appears with a formidable array of titles — which we may be excused for having omitted — and an elaborate dedication, that seem out of place in one who can have spent but a few hours' labor in adding a few notes at the foot of the pages, and some selections from other writers at the end of the volume. But every man to his taste. If others choose to give all their academic degrees and social honors with their names, we must not quarrel with them, but rather delight in the new proof of the value of simplicity which pageantry always affords.

The chief value of Mr. Gresley's book consists in its practical character, and the variety of illustrations from the Scriptures and from eminent divines, by which he shows the application of his principles. He is evidently an honest and earnest man, who has tried to find out the best way of preaching in his own sphere, and to teach his young friend, for whom he writes, the most efficient mode of preparation for the pulpit. There is not a spark of genius or originality

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in the volume. A copious common-place book, good sense, enlarged observation, and considerable experience have united to make a very useful work in aid of the young preacher's culture, or in correction of the old preacher's faults. Whether such works do any great good of themselves, we doubt. But when interpreted by one's own experience — of need, or failure, or partial success, they furnish very valuable hints. Men who have been in the pulpit for years are apt to travel in a beaten track of preparation and delivery, unconscious of their slavery to routine. They travel the same road so constantly, that they hardly notice its condition, or ask themselves whether it cannot be improved. It is well to take with them for a companion a candid friend or book, that will point out the defects of the way, and perhaps lift them out of the ruts which habit has been forming. It is with study and composition as with elocution. It is a good thing for a minister once in a while to take a course of lessons in reading from a competent teacher, if for no other purpose than to see the faults of which he is unconscious reflected in a faithful mirror, before habit has made them incorrigible. An honest and sensible book on Preaching extends this benefit to the whole clerical culture.

Some of Mr. Gresley's cautions are ludicrously inapplicable to the American pulpit. It is wholly unnecessary to advise our preachers to write their own sermons instead of stealing them, or to guard their style by the consideration, that there is a portion of the congregation that cannot read. Making due allowance for these peculiarities of the English Church and for the frequent Oxfordisms of the author, the book answers very well for any meridian.

It is divided into four parts, that treat severally upon the Matter of a Sermon, Style, Method of Composing, and Delivery. This division does very well for practical purposes, and allows the writer to speak his mind upon the subjects, objects and methods of preaching. Whateley's Treatises on Logic and Rhetoric, evidently, have not been used in vain, and the Prebendary of Litchfield is far more willing to use the literary labors than to endorse the liberal theology of the Archbishop of Dublin. Yet he makes no professions of originality, but places the chief value of his

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work in the varied information and illustration which he has gathered from the best sources.

The most obvious feature of the mode of preaching which Mr. Gresley recommends, would seem to an American mind to be propriety, rather than power. He is a thorough Englishman, and is in no danger of favoring the least rant or bombast, and in horror of these he sometimes gives rules that must chill feeling and cramp manner. But on this very account he will be of more use to us, who live in a land where the common tendency is towards exaggeration and excitement. We are in no fear of being frozen into rigid precision by any severe laws of rhetoric.

When preaching is the topic, we at once turn to our own New England, and consider the bearing of every remark upon our own ways. New England has been not only the school of American theology, but also the nursery of the American pulpit. The Puritans have furnished our country with the most gifted preachers, and had no small share in the training of the majority of the clergy who shine now in spheres that do not acknowledge the Puritan name. The volume before us cannot but suggest a comparison between the pulpits of New England and Old England, and make us in no way ashamed of the achievements of the men whom English tyranny drove to our shores. The standard of excellence held up before us by this sensible and ardent Churchman, in one important respect, reflects honor upon the New England pulpit. Nothing at all approaching the intellectual character of our best preaching seems to have been thought of by him. A sermon of Edwards or Channing rises like a giant above the model preaching of this book, and no weapons or armor are given, that do not seem to belong to dwarfs in comparison. Broad surveys of the plans of Divine Providence, and deep searching of the depths of the human soul, stand in contrast with trite statements of dogmas and quiet appeals to precedent. Whether we regard the early Calvinists of New England, or the Liberal theologians of a later day who in various Communions have carried out their free spirit, we have no reason to blush for the theology of young Yale and Harvard in comparison with that of old Oxford and Cambridge.

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Yet, while reading Mr. Gresley's work, one thought has presented itself, which bears somewhat severely upon a prevalent characteristic of preaching. Notwithstanding the pertinacity with which he insists upon the authority of the Established Church, there is something in the claim of dignity which he asserts for the pulpit which is too often forgotten. In the love for intellectual efforts, our preachers too often appear as mere logicians, and write and speak as if the authority of the Gospel depended entirely upon the vigor of their arguments. They call in question primal truths as if they depended upon argumentation, unmindful of the fact that all first principles are best proved when most simply stated, and most acknowledged when most earnestly urged and illustrated. Instead of standing on the rock of ages, and there declaring in the name of God the truths of his being and providence, the immortality of man and the way of salvation, as if these were undeniable, they often leave the rock, and curiously walk about its base, speculate upon its foundations, and at last arrive at the conclusion that all is well, and the Gospel is true. This is not preaching, but lecturing or essay-writing. After hearing such efforts people say, 'It was all very well done, but it was not a sermon, not real preaching.' True preaching takes its stand upon the essential principles of the Gospel, and expounds them without calling them for a moment in question. He makes men most feel God's presence, who most fervently proclaims his being and illustrates his attributes. He gives best proof of man's immortality, who most earnestly appeals to the soul's own instincts, and confirms them by Christ's word. In regard to the great essentials of religion, the preacher is justified in speaking with entire confidence, not indeed in his own feeble understanding, but in the authority of that Being who has revealed himself in Jesus Christ, and who confirms the truth of the Gospel by the witness of his spirit in every faithful soul. He claims no infallibility of opinion, no exemption from error. Yet the primal truths of his faith he will deem as fixed as the mountains, and as radiant as the stars. God, the All-wise, Almighty, All-holy, — Christ, the brightness of the Divine glory and image of the Divine person, — the holy spirit, witness of eternal truth, and messenger of heavenly comfort to the human soul, — peace with God,

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the result of sins repented of and of faith resting upon his love, — in these the preacher should confidently trust as at once the dictates of Revelation and truths of the universal Reason; and he should utter them, whether to Christian or worldling, enthusiast or skeptic, with a faith undoubting, a reliance unwavering.

As a denomination we have been sometimes prone rather to discuss questions than proclaim truths, although kind Providence has granted to us most conspicuous examples of true preaching. Were we to name one man pre-eminent for the apostolic spirit that never changes the sanctuary into the lecture-room, and never destroys the life of the Gospel for the hearer by over-curious dissections, we should name our beloved brother who was last taken to the spiritual world. Henry Ware was a true preacher. He *preached* in the pulpit; he *lectured* in the lyceum. His excellence in the latter place proves, that his apostolic simplicity was the result of choice, not of necessity, when he stood in the former. He had as much philosophy as those who are always parading their metaphysics in their sermons, — far more, we believe. True philosophy makes warmth of heart essential to genuine wisdom, as much as clearness of head. It acknowledges the province of inspiration, and sets small value upon the criticism that treats of the letter without rising into the spirit. The young ministers who have been instructed by Henry Ware should blame themselves alone, if they forget the preacher's true office, and allow fastidious critics or itinerant lecturers to give them rules instead of the Gospel, and suffer curious questionings or popular rant to destroy the dignity of their office.

We have dwelt longer than we intended upon these topics, and gladly go to the branch of the subject which we had chiefly in view in beginning this article. No better name can guide us to it than that just mentioned. The little volume of "Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching," by Henry Ware, Jr., contains more useful information and instruction upon this point than any other work we know of. It is one of the numberless proofs of the success of the author's aim ever to be useful, and of the connection of worthy achievement with unostentatious purpose. It has had a great influence over those for whom it was intended,

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and has passed through two or more editions in Great Britain.

It is becoming an important practical question, whether the power of the pulpit would not be promoted by the more frequent introduction of extemporaneous preaching. Mr. Gresley treats of this question, and rather surprises us by his statements of the prevalence of the practice in many English pulpits. He gives some rules for the culture of extempore preaching, which are in the main judicious, although he deems it, except in case of signal talent, more suited to the lecture-room than the pulpit. He insists upon its importance, however, as essential to the usefulness and comfort of a preacher. We are inclined to think that if he were as obedient to antiquity in his views of preaching as of rites, he would declaim against all manuscripts in the pulpit as wholly unsanctioned by Apostles or Fathers. Perhaps regard for antiquity has had some influence in changing the manners of some ministers of the Established Church, and substituting extemporaneous freshness for the proverbial dulness of their manuscripts. Yet generally, as we are assured by a friend whose travels and connections entitle him to speak upon the point, the clergy of the Church of England are not free extempore speakers, and some of the Bishops have not learned the alphabet of the art.

Before the Protestant Reformation written sermons were almost unknown. In England they were established in the reign of Henry VIII., as a safe-guard against imprudence of speech or heresy of doctrine. They coincided with the subsequent intellectual character of Protestantism, and elaborate discourses from accomplished scholars soon displaced the off-hand harangues of ranting friars. Charles II. seems to have disliked the use of manuscripts in the pulpit, and issued a decree to the University of Cambridge, dated 1674, in which he commands the preachers to deliver their sermons without books under penalty of his Majesty's displeasure. Yet Charles probably had in view *memoriter*, rather than *extempore*, preaching. However, his decree has had no great influence upon the English Church. Perhaps among other relics of other days, it may be disinterred by the pious antiquarians who are now so busy in the mother country, and whose chief saint is of the Stuart race.

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Whatever be the cause, preaching without notes is becoming more common in England.

In this country it is evidently increasing in prevalence, although the majority of educated preachers still use manuscripts, and reverse the example of the clergy of the Catholic Church, who read their prayers and extemporize their sermons, by extemporizing their prayers and reading their sermons. The increase of popular gatherings for the discussion of political and philanthropic questions has raised up a host of ready extemporaneous speakers, who have tended to give a taste to the people for a more fervent and spontaneous manner than generally accompanies the use of a manuscript. The pastoral addresses of several ecclesiastical Associations have expressly mentioned the evil, that has accrued to their preachers, from the contrast of their deliberate composition and manner with the free and fervid utterance of the host of agents and lecturers, who travel the country to declaim against our social evils. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has recommended to its members to discontinue the use of manuscripts in the pulpit, and in some cases, we learn, the recommendation has not been without effect. The Methodists are earnestly discussing the best mode of preaching, and whilst some advocate written sermons, the majority firmly abide by the extemporaneous mode; and a sensible article in their Quarterly Review, from the pen of one of their most gifted preachers, disapproves even of the slightest brief being carried into the pulpit.

It is evident that extemporaneous preaching is practised in our own denomination to a considerable and increasing extent. A considerable number of our clergymen now preach freely without notes whenever the occasion may call for it on Sunday, and a few regularly preach so, at least part of the day. The general custom in our parishes, of giving expository lectures during the week in the vestry, has been the means of unsealing the lips of many of our brethren, and enabled them to give fresh and free utterance of their present thoughts, instead of falling back under the protection of their old sermons. Moreover, the increased calls upon clergymen to speak at public meetings and discuss important moral questions have had an influence upon their preaching, that often appears, if not in

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entire sermons, at least in occasional wanderings from the written page into the free fields of untrammeled speech.

It is obviously becoming the duty of every minister to be independent of his manuscript, and acquire such a habit of extemporaneous speech, that he can use it whenever he chooses. There will be times when he will be much crippled and mortified unless he can do so, and not a month will pass that does not show him the convenience and power of the gift. We take no extreme ground; we make no war against written sermons, much less would we advocate *impromptu* preparation for the pulpit, if preparation it can be called. A man must write well if he would speak correctly, and speak freely if he would write fluently. What Quinctilian says upon this point in reference to the orator, is doubly true of the preacher. Perhaps it would be best for the readiest speaker to write half his sermons and use his manuscript, unless he has the rare gift of remembering his own composition without the drudgery of learning it by rote, and can speak it without the air of a school-boy saying a lesson. We must have a habit of accurate and regular writing, else our literary culture is in great peril; and it is generally much better to preach from the manuscript than to try to remember it, — a work much more difficult, than to speak without trying to remember. As to *impromptu* preparation for the pulpit, if such there can be, it should be entirely condemned, unless in cases where necessity is the excuse. By extempore speaking, we mean the utterance of premeditated thoughts in such language as presents itself at the time of speaking.

All will allow that this is the most natural and effective mode, other things being equal. A child perceives at once the difference in our tone, when we cease speaking to him and begin to read. His languid attention marks the effect of the transition. The same result appears in all popular meetings, where some of the debaters read, and others speak as they are moved. Why should the pulpit be an exception to the general law, and a practice be held indispensable there, that would be the ruin of the orator of the bar or senate-hall?

Almost all the objections brought against extemporaneous preaching are unjust, because directed against abuses rather than fair specimens of the art. No man should try to speak

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in the pulpit, until he has learned the rudiments of the art. And it is from the failure of those who have not learned, that the art is condemned by so many. Let men follow up the culture of extempore preaching as assiduously as that of composition, and it will be found that there is no more difference between preachers in their faculty of speaking than of writing, and that all may learn to speak extemporaneously as easily at least as they learn to compose.

Indeed the action of the mind in preparing for a speech, is far more natural than in the labor of composition. Thoughts present themselves much more spontaneously and fall into their proper places. They volunteer at the call of the living voice, whereas they must often be forcibly impressed into the service of the pen. These volunteer troops are indeed sometimes rather too volatile to stand much serious service, but not unfrequently they will prove themselves as solid as they are prompt. Henry Ware has so well exhibited the advantages of extempore preaching that it is unnecessary to say much upon this point, although he has not spoken so much of the effect of this mode upon the speaker's preparation as upon the manner and effect of his delivery. We say, as we leave this branch of the subject, that we have no doubt, that if our young men who enter the ministry cultivated this habit as carefully as that of writing, and gave the same thought to their extemporaneous as to their written sermons, they would speak without notes as wisely as they write, and far more effectively, besides saving the time and labor that are given to the mechanical work of the pen. They will not indeed be able to treasure up their sermons for future use as safely as when given to paper, but most ministers have old sermons enough, and a few notes of the chief points of a discourse will suffice to call it to mind again, even in subsequent years.

Those who have practised extempore preaching must be aware that many dangers are incident to this mode, and some dangers such as are not usually considered. The liability, or temptation to neglect careful preparation, and rely too much upon the inspiration of the moment; to run into exaggeration, and mistake warmth of blood for fervor of feeling or strength of conviction; to suppose from the

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excitement of our own minds, that we are interesting the audience as much as we interest ourselves; to commit sins against good taste by exhortations, reproaches and appeals, such as a cooler head would condemn; to repeat the same words or ideas, to the weariness of the hearers; to ramble from subject to subject without unity, and continue speaking after we ought to stop; these are perils that the extemporaneous preacher understands better than his severest critics, for he is the greatest sufferer by them.

As to bodily fatigue and nervous exhaustion, it may be, that there is more expenditure of strength in the extempore than the manuscript method. But the former gives a much more natural and healthful play of the system than the latter. Of any given number of preachers who might be selected to show the effects of the two modes of speaking upon the organs of the voice, we think that those who practise the former method would bear the more favorable testimony, and very few cases would be adduced in which easy extemporisers have been troubled with that scourge of the profession, *bronchitis*. Most persons can talk two hours with less fatigue of lungs and throat than is felt in reading a quarter of an hour. The same principle must apply, in a measure, to public speaking. Yet nothing is more wearing to body as well as mind than to speak with anxiety, doubting whether we shall get through, and drifting about in the fog, uncertain of a landing-place.

The preparation for extempore speaking may be much more healthful than the task of writing. It is the sedentary labor and confinement of the study, that brings so many ministers to a premature grave. Extempore speaking turns the sedentary student into a cheerful peripatetic. On a summer's day he may walk in a pleasant garden or shady grove, and find a pleasure in arranging for the next Sunday a sermon, that would have vexed his mind and body beyond measure, if he had been bent over his desk, the slave, not of the oar, but of the pen. There is something wrong in our clerical life. They that have the noblest of all professions ought not to prove by their languid and short lives, that they are at variance with the laws of nature, out of harmony with the regular order of Providence.

An exact method will prevent all anxiety. The preacher should be far more careful in the arrangement of his subject

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for the extemporaneous than the written discourse. He should be sure of his main points and illustrations, and see his way clearly to the end. The end is the most difficult part, and therefore should be most carefully considered. Many men who can make a very good speech in the main, ruin themselves at the close. They remind one of a vessel which makes a most expeditious and satisfactory voyage, and at last puts the passengers in an agony of suspense by attempts to reach the wharf. She courses to and fro, and at last with great difficulty, and with many a thump, is moored to her resting-place. How to end, is the chief accomplishment of the extempore preacher. However indefinite other parts of his discourse may be, he should be sure of an appropriate conclusion. He should trust to his stars for the beginning rather than the end of his discourse. Sometimes indeed a better peroration will occur to him while speaking than before; but it is dangerous to rely on such angel visitations.

To avoid the danger of repetition from Sunday to Sunday — the great sin of extempore preachers in the judgment of their hearers — care should be taken to select subjects that shall not tempt the preacher to routine. Vague exhortation and theological common-places should be avoided, and some topic from Scripture history or biography, some fact or illustration, should be taken that will be sure to give an air of freshness; and a careful division of its branches should make the discourse individual and unlike former discourses.

It is sometimes the case, that men of remarkable powers of extemporaneous speaking weary their own congregations with the same discourses that thrill other congregations to the quick. The probable reason is, that a preacher's own people have sometimes been troubled by his intensity and exaggeration, and always remember some of his excesses of speech, whilst strangers have no such reminiscences and are borne along by the full tide of spontaneous eloquence. Preachers therefore should beware of compromising their influence with the judicious of their congregations by any extravagancies of speech, and should make it certain that good sense shall never fall a sacrifice to the craving for eloquence. Nothing wears so well as good sense. Eloquent folly may charm for a time, but good sense always resumes its place. It is very important, that whenever a minister is to

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address himself personally to his people, especially to rebuke their personal negligence, he should use well chosen language, and by being sure of all his points shun the danger of scolding instead of preaching, and of uttering words that afterwards are coals of fire that burn his own conscience rather than influence their piety.

The volume before us contains some good advice upon the proper training of the extempore preacher for his work. Taken together with Ware's "Hints," the seventh chapter of Quinctilian's tenth book, and the very practical article in the October number of the Methodist Quarterly Review, it furnishes a very ample guide. Mr. Gresley's quotation from Lord Brougham, who advises the young orator to learn first to talk on fluently and be little mindful of the sense or connection, seems hardly worthy of the young preacher's attention; although we remember an instance, in which a young man made himself in the end quite an efficient orator with the people by speaking in the debating clubs of College and uttering volleys of vehement words without much care for the sense, and being the very first to join in the laugh that any blunder occasioned. It is better to begin safely with a correct division of the subject, and, sure of the main ideas, leave the words to take care of themselves, as like other winged creatures they generally will. We should never incur the risk of mistaking words for things, nor forget that empty volubility, as Cicero says, "is vain and ridiculous."

None of the writers upon the subject mention the study of the ancient classics as a part of the culture of the extempore speaker. Notwithstanding the prevalent disposition to decry their value now, we maintain that they are essential to a speaker's education, not so much as giving models of oratory, as supplying ample and appropriate language. There is no mode of acquiring copiousness and precision of speech so good in the outset, as the habit of faithfully and elegantly rendering the Greek and Latin classics into appropriate English. The force of the original is apprehended, and the affluence of our own tongue mastered. This way of studying the dead languages has a worth that is forgotten by many, who declaim against studies that have been their own great benefactors. It is a fact worthy of note, that all the great extempore orators have been

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good classical scholars. Eton, with its dead languages, has given no small share of living eloquence to the British Parliament.

Our New England has not been remarkable for extemporaneous eloquence in the pulpit. Our cautiousness and acute intellect do not favor such a spontaneous mode. Edwards produced his revivals by reading long sermons full of systematic divinity, without any of the orator's arts. The fastidious scholarship of the early Liberal divines hardly allowed them to indulge in any adventurous flights. Yet there is nothing in the severest intellect or the most finished scholarship, that need shrink from free utterance of thought. The most profound and logical preacher of modern Germany never wrote his sermons, and it is only through the short-hand notes of his pupils that Schleiermacher's four volumes of discourses have been preserved to us. Robert Hall's most powerful and efficient efforts were extemporaneous. The advice of one of the most illustrious divines of the English Church, Bishop Burnet, is backed by his example. He always trusted to the moment for his language, and owed much of his power to this fact. His biographer mentions an occasion of great importance, when the regular preacher was taken sick, and the Archbishop of Canterbury called upon Dr. Burnet to enter the pulpit and supply the vacant place, which was done to the wonder and approval of all. The Archbishop declared that he had never heard a better sermon in his life.

A philosophical turn of mind is no obstacle to extemporaneous speech at the bar and in the senate-chamber. Why should it be so considered in the pulpit? A reflective man will not of course be willing to talk on as the words may come, without care for the thought, but his very habits of reflection should give him such ample material of remark as to save him from fear of intellectual bankruptcy. The cause of the little power of many of our best minds when they speak without notes may be found in their inexperience, and not in their depth of intellect, or defect of faculty of utterance. They may be Nestors in wisdom and yet tyros in the free expression of it. Hence the frequent union of dulness of manner with depth of thought, so common in New England. The writer of the admirable article in the Edinburgh Review, on the British Pulpit,

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expresses his wonder, that of the vast number of sermons delivered every year, and generally under circumstances so inspiring, so few should survive the hour of their birth and live as classics in literature. We do not join in this wonder; since sermons are not written for posterity, but to do a present good to a present audience. The wonder is, that men who devote their lives to preaching should not succeed better in exciting attention, and thus doing the present good which they seek. We should be disposed to explain the wonder, as the reviewer does, by ascribing the defect to the want of a careful training for the composition and delivery of sermons and of sufficient preparation for each effort in the pulpit. He makes true pulpit eloquence to consist in practical reasoning animated by strong emotion. Now, surely, the earnestness of extempore speaking must be a great aid to the cultivation of such a practical and animated style. It is hard to believe that old Latimer, whom the reviewer puts at the head of his list of true preachers, ever wrote his sermons at all, so hearty and spontaneous they appear. Of his two other models, Baxter and South, the former must have enjoyed the discipline of untrammelled speech, whilst of the latter we cannot speak with certainty.

As to the true unity of a sermon, we do not believe it is at all hazarded by the extemporaneous mode. True unity in a popular discourse does not consist in a subtile and consecutive train of argument which few can follow, but in making every remark and illustration bear upon one point, as may easily be done without the elaborate logic which is not safe without the manuscript. What Lord Brougham says of the unity of subject with the great Attic orator, holds true of good sermons as well as orations: "The reasonings of Demosthenes are not of the nature of continuous demonstration, and by no means resemble a chain of mathematical or metaphysical arguments. A variety of topics are handled in succession, all calculated to strike the audience." The illustrations are various, but all bear upon the one main point. An adroit extempore preacher will excel in this kind of unity better than in that of close metaphysical deduction, and surely the former is better suited to the practical purposes of preaching.

But the great trouble with most preachers is, that they do not give time enough to the preparation of their sermons.

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This difficulty might certainly be obviated by economising labor, and lessening the time spent with the pen in the drudgery of mechanical composition. If a minister must prepare two fresh sermons a week, he will be able to give them both much more meditation by writing only one, and devoting to earnest thought the time spared from penning the other. No man should write more than one sermon a week, and one in a fortnight would perhaps come nearer the true rule. Paley recommends one a month. But we are inclined to think that if this rule were adopted, sermons would not be better than now, since the ample time would rather encourage indolence and delay, than stimulate to higher achievement. Those preachers who write the smallest number in the course of a year are by no means the most exemplary models of fidelity to the highest standard of preaching. The hurry of a crowded week, and the tempting leisure of months, are alike perilous to faithful preparation. The hurry of the week may often be spared by quitting the drudgery of the pen, and faithfully preparing the outlines of an unwritten sermon. Yet no week should pass without careful exercise in composition.

What changes may occur in our religious institutions, we cannot predict, but it is very obvious that the principle of fraternal communion is supplanting the principle of patriarchal authority in our churches, and that more freedom is asserted by the people and more equality of position ascribed to ministers. No wonder that the lofty enclosures, from which our fathers preached, lifted them out of the sphere of their audience and gave them a tone quite as spectral as spiritual. Would that some modern iconoclast would wage war against the whole race of wooden idols that have been so identified with religion, and give the minister a place to stand where he may speak naturally, as man to man. Yet the war has already begun. Pulpits are losing their height in mid-air, and gradually sinking towards the level of the pews. The obvious result is, to call forth more co-operation in the people with the minister, and a tendency on both sides to a freer intercourse. A more spontaneous manner is demanded from preachers. Their voice is welcome in the social meeting for conversation or conference, and the brotherly familiarity of its tones there cannot fail to have an influence upon their manner in the

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pulpit. A more earnest and practical style of preaching must be cultivated, or the pulpit will be lost in the conference-room. Far from us be the desire to pander to false tastes, or to prefer off-hand flippancy to deliberate thought, or ephemeral novelties to lasting truths. The preacher may keep all his dignity of character and elevation of purpose, and yet be more mindful than is common with the many, that true preaching is at once "feeling and fearless," that it is "practical reasoning animated by strong emotion." The zeal with which not a few young minds are preparing themselves for the sacred office, or are continuing their clerical culture, gives us good hopes for the New England pulpit, that it will be equal to the claims made upon its labors, and that without being recreant to the profound intellect and august dignity of the Puritan worthies, it will not forget that the age is too practical for metaphysical abstractions, and too warm and democratic for rigid or authoritative dictation. May they honor the deductive power of the gigantic mind of Edwards, without aping his peculiarities or reviving his dogmatism. May they admire the classic grace of Buckminster, the simple beauty and fervent strength of Channing, and at the same time remember that fidelity to these sainted men calls us to move onward even as they moved, and meet the demands of our time, as they met the demand of theirs. Ours may be an humbler sphere, yet usefulness is always in the end exalted.

Foreigners often express their astonishment at the progress of popular eloquence in this country. An English gentleman who has given particular attention to the oratory of Great Britain, declares that there are far more good speakers here than in the mother country, and predicts with confidence that our institutions are to be great patrons of modern oratory. This seems probable. All who have a spark of the orator's fire cannot lack opportunity to kindle it into a flame. Yet the great fear is, that our popular speakers will have more passion than reason, and favor a style of extravagant declamation that will make the judicious grieve. From the American preachers better things may be expected. May no love of popularity inflate them into declaimers, and no fear of extravagance sink them into prosing dulness. S. O.

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Art. II. — PERILS OF THE YOUNG.*

As a practical religious work, Dr. Flint's "Present to his Young Parishioners," and to the public, has value, and will exert a good influence. It was not prepared in the best way for a book, consisting as it does of sermons and parts of sermons "written without a thought of printing," having no connection, containing some repetitions, and necessarily wanting unity of plan and object. It is evident that the author has not published the volume for reputation, but from the single desire to do good. Having been formerly settled over another society, whose members were warmly attached to him, the younger of whom particularly requested that "he would furnish them with some printed memorial of that ministry," he takes this mode of complying with their request, and dedicates the volume to the "young members of the society with which he was first connected, and those of his present charge." To the young the whole is adapted, unless we except the first discourse, on the Evidences of Christianity, a Dudleian Lecture, and the last, on the character of Timothy Pickering. These are not strictly in keeping with the general purpose, yet they treat of subjects and principles of the utmost importance to old and young.

We welcome all attempts to recommend religion to the young; to clothe its high truths in a pleasant garb, and press them home in a gentle and affectionate, but earnest tone, upon the consciences of those who are just entering on an endless career. If ever so few can be reached by a single effort, that effort will be rewarded. If only those with whom Dr. Flint has been closely connected, as pastor and devoted friend, should faithfully read and apply the pages of this little volume, it will perform a benevolent mission, and may render an incalculable service. But it will not be confined to them. There are many more who will read and ponder it; not so many, in our judgment, as if it had taken some other form; but still many, some of whom, if not all, will be profited by its elevated standard of

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* *A Present from a Pastor to his Young Parishioners: in Ten Discourses; urging upon them an early and earnest attention to Religion.* By James Flint, D. D. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. 18mo. pp. 328.

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morality, its ease and frequent beauty of style, and its just discrimination between the designed use, and the forbidden abuse, of the faculties and affections of our nature. This last we regard as one of the chief excellencies of the book. While it is sober, it is just. Its view of those passions and pleasures which are inseparable from early life, is neither too dark nor too free. And it fears not to speak out. It does not shun those subjects which are often dismissed with being called "delicate topics," while in fact they are subjects of frequent thought and conversation among the young, and involve their greatest dangers.

Of some of these topics we wish to speak, and are glad of this opportunity. Not intending a particular review of the book, we prefer this mode of attempting to present and carry out its leading purpose. It treats more fully, than is common in religious works or pulpit discourses, of those special follies and vices to which young men and women are most prone. It makes no apology for calling things by their right names. Its independence and directness in this respect have interested us more than anything else that we have found in it; for though all is good, there is unavoidably much of common-place on common truths and duties. But the subjects to which we have just referred are not so common; and while they occupy no disproportionate place, they are treated with a plainness as well as propriety, which entitle the writer to the thanks of all parents and teachers. These subjects are thoughtless marriages, doubtful or hurtful reading, vanity of person and dress, intemperance, profaneness, and that least spoken of, but most prevalent and mighty peril of all, licentiousness.

It is of the last that we are inclined to say most, for the very reason that it is seldom brought forward, though it is universal in its relations, and awful in its tendencies. As it is connected with the subject first named, marriage, and as this also is too little adverted to in our public or private teaching, we will show the direct and judicious manner in which this is treated by Dr. Flint. He is speaking, in the second discourse, of the vital importance of religious principle, and "the wisdom that is from above."

"You will need it, in the first place, in that most interesting and momentous act of your life, the choice of a companion to share with you the pleasures and cares and changeful fortunes

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of your earthly pilgrimage. Here, if you are not directed by a spirit of religious caution and wisdom, you will be led by passion, which is blind, or by caprice, which may change the moment the indissoluble tie is formed, or by other motives too unworthy to be named; all which must lead to repentance, a life of discord, and a train of evils, which, as religion only could have prevented, so religion alone can remedy or enable you to bear them. Under the guidance of this heavenly monitor, you will be directed in your choice to one, who, like yourself, "fears the Lord from her youth." Your preference will be given to those qualities of the mind and heart, which will endure and please, when the enamel of the skin, when attractions merely external, shall have faded and passed away. You will not suffer imagination to choose for you, without consulting your reason and 'the wisdom that is from above,' which will instruct you that 'favor is deceitful,' and that 'beauty is vain,' but that 'a woman who feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.'

"And might I caution the daughters of Zion in an affair which involves in its consequences everything, next to their salvation, most important and dear to them, I would warn them that they sooner take to their bosom 'the green and fanged adder,' than an unprincipled, irreligious, dissipated son of Belial, however in other respects agreeable or accomplished. Who can touch pitch and not be defiled? Who can be linked to corruption and not be polluted? It is impossible that a man not habitually influenced by religious principle, can make a good husband or good parent, or render the wedded life of a virtuous woman happy." — pp. 70–72.

In another discourse the author speaks at yet greater length, with earnest simplicity and honest faithfulness, of the common errors and fearful evils of inconsiderate, imprudent connections. There are many who think all this talk useless. There is no one subject, on which direction and advice, or rules and cautions, are thought to be more entirely thrown away, than on the subject of marriage. But take any other single subject, or prevalent custom and evil, shall we not find it equally difficult to trace the effect of caution and advice, or be sure of any positive result? Does it do any good to warn men against anger, selfishness, avarice? The young especially, those in the heat of passion and the determination of inexperience, can they be reached or at all affected by sober counsels and grave lessons? To what do such questions tend, except to hinder all attempts at instruction or reform? We believe

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the young are as susceptible of impression and good influence, on the subject of marriage, as on any other. It is a subject on which much of their thought, imagination, and conversation, turns. Boys and girls, young ladies especially, we have reason to believe, think of this, read and speak of it, calculate and feel, to a degree of which many parents are either unsuspicious, or consider it useless to speak, and so leave it all to itself, uncontrolled, unadvised. A different course might prevent some of the most serious evils of life. We have known instances, in which girls from fifteen to twenty years of age, of good family and high education, were questioned by their female teachers as to their thoughts and feelings on this subject. They owned not only that they thought and felt much, which is always to be expected, but likewise that they had little *serious* thought in regard to it, their parents either neglecting it wholly, or thinking them too young to know much about it. Yet parents allow and encourage their children in spending days and nights over books, whose chief material is love, passion, seduction, marriage of the most doubtful kind, or the most voluptuous!

This brings us to the other topic, on which we must speak plainly, from a strong and growing impression of its importance, and of the duty of speaking upon it more distinctly than is common. It is that which Dr. Flint puts first in one of the best of his discourses, entitled "A mark set upon three vices for the reprobation and avoidance of the young." These vices are Illicit Pleasure, Profaneness, and Intemperance; and more space and force are given to the two former, especially the first, than to the last; contrary to the common rule and almost universal practice of the pulpit, we apprehend. We are glad to see this difference. The vice of intemperance, with all its horrors, has been constantly kept before the community for many years, and we hope it will be, so long as the evil rages as it still does. It is itself a great tempter to "illicit pleasure," the inseparable companion in all places of low indulgence. But does intemperance more frequently lead to licentiousness, than follow it? We suppose not. Lust is the first, the natural, the universal appetite; and when indulged, it belongs to its nature, its resorts, and all its associations, to lead to intemperance and skepticism. We believe these

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will frequently be found in connection; sometimes one beginning the corruption, and sometimes the other, but seldom will either be found alone, for a long time or in great excess. Not that skepticism may not be found, of all kinds and in all degrees, without the others; but that the others, intemperance and licentiousness, while they often foment each other, almost always lead to skepticism. Licentiousness is more frequently the parent of all other vices, than is usually suspected. We are often told that the records of justice, the character and confessions of prisoners, show intemperance as the cause of an immense proportion of all crimes. Of this there can be no doubt. But as little doubt have we, that if these prisoners and victims were questioned as to the cause of their intemperance also, very many would trace it to the indulgence of an earlier and stronger appetite — the strongest of all. Indeed inquiries and examinations have shown this, to a degree that ought to awaken more solicitude than we often find in regard to the passions and early habits of the young. Again we thank Dr. Flint for speaking so plainly on this subject. Its importance is vital. Its relations and issues are fearful. We must draw two short passages from the pages before us.

"There is no propensity implanted in our frame stronger perhaps than the one in question, consequently none so mysteriously restrained and held in check by the innate modesty and timidity of nature. Yet, if these natural guards and checks are once broken through and prostrated, and the loss of innocence is once incurred by illicit indulgence, there is no vice more pregnant with a host of uncounted penalties and woes to its victims, which will so surely and darkly overcast all their fair prospects in life, and may not improbably cause their sun to go down at noon. For it has been remarked of the criminal indulgence of this propensity, that it is usually the precursor of a train of other vices, and that this sin, debasing as it is, will soon be the least of which the habitually impure will find themselves guilty." — p. 167.

"The young catch the language and adopt the sentiments of their elders. And the lax principles, and the light talk, which they hear, are but too much in unison with the wishes of the youthful heart, in that hurricane season of life, when the passions first awake, and the thirst for pleasure becomes a fever. When they hear religion called in question by fashionable and hoary

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libertines, and future retribution, perhaps a future life, doubted or denied, they easily persuade themselves that wisdom and truth must be on the side of pleasure, and that that must be a very good sort of faith, which sets them free from the restraints of conscience, and the terrors of a future judgment." — p. 193.

There is no subject that seems to us to demand more attention, or give cause for more solicitude, than the prevalence and the peril of licentiousness. View it as you may in itself, look at the violence of the passion in human nature, look at the facilities and temptations everywhere spread, look at the throng of slaves and victims of every class, the multitude of those who live and die by this vice, look again at its frightful effects upon health, reputation, mind, destiny — how difficult is it to go beyond the reality in describing the ground of apprehension or the duty of action? And yet how difficult to say what the action shall be. There lies the great, with many the only, difficulty. None doubt the existence of the evil. Few doubt its magnitude. Some have questioned the statistics that have been given, and we may perhaps question all statistics of vice. But not on the side of exaggeration would be our fear or doubt here. No figures or calculations can equal the amount of evil, physical, social, moral and mental, caused by intemperance and licentiousness. The exact number of the disgraced and abandoned in a given population may be over-stated; though we do not believe men are so likely to exceed as to come short of it. But the amount of actual and dreadful evil is wholly incalculable. This we know. And we know enough of numbers and habits, of solicitation and danger, to make us shudder. The question is, how are we to act? And there is even a previous question to this — are we to act at all, shall we attempt to do anything directly, shall we even say anything specially in relation to this special evil?

This question, very many, if not most of those with whom we most associate, seem disposed to answer negatively. Whether distrusting the statements of the extent of the evil, or admitting the worst, they think we can do nothing more than we are doing by all preaching of sound truth and teaching pure Gospel morality. 'We must work indirectly. Any direct assault, or formal description of licentiousness, its nature, its working, its scenes, seductions, and

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woes, will only extend the evil which we seek to check. It will give a knowledge of the vice to many, whose ignorance is security. Do not unveil to them the haunts of impurity and infamy, but point them to the joy and blessedness of the pure in heart. The evil, if it exist, is within, not without. The enemy is not in the streets, nor in books, nor in vile retreats, but in the heart; and he who aims at the heart, aims directly at his citadel and strong tower. The best, the only sure defence against this, and all sin, lies in moral principle and religious affection. Let this therefore be the aim of parents, guardians, and all teachers and reformers, — to give the young high principle and pure affection. If in this they are faithful, we have every assurance that they will be successful; if not faithful, or not successful in this, all other caution and attempt at prevention will be vain.'

This is the general opinion, and the sincere conviction. We are not prepared to say it is wrong, but we are every day more impelled to think it insufficient, as a principle of action. It was not found sufficient for the evil of intemperance, it has not, so far, done much against this evil. We feel all the difficulties of the subject. We respect the honest religious doubts of those who wish to do something to protect their own children, and all committed to their teaching and care, from this imminent peril, but fear to speak of it, to suggest it, to ask any questions even, lest they present the first impure image to some innocent, unsuspecting mind. And as to all minute descriptions of the evil, all detailed accounts of vile courses, the opening to the young of the very hells of lust and loathsomeness, we want words strong enough to express our abhorrence of such modes of reform. Let the mature and strong make themselves acquainted with these facts, let there be more willingness and effort than there have been to accept and use information on the subject, but let it not be thrown indiscriminately into the community, spread before all ages and classes, brought to our doors and laid on our tables. If our knowledge of human nature did not warn us sufficiently on this point, the experiment that was made, and the papers issued a few years ago, in New York, should do it. For while we have reason to think that much good resulted from that movement, which is yet going forward there and in many places, we believe the good

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would have been far greater, and actual evil saved, had no papers been scattered indiscriminately, or only those of a different character. We may be wrong. We may be led to modify this opinion, as we have modified others on this subject. But with our present conviction, and with all our observation of the tendency of youthful mind and passion, we should be as willing to lead a child to a brothel for his place of instruction, as to put into his hands or within his reach almost any book or paper that we have yet seen, designed to describe the scenes and foul sins of lewdness. We tremble for the young man or woman who loves such description, or would throw it in the way of a companion. As there are constitutions and states of health, to which the best medicine would be a poison, so there are minds and hearts, both among the pure and the impure, which will be injured, if not polluted, by the most chaste description which language can give of the details and scenes of concupiscence. There is sound sense in the words of Jeremy Taylor, prefacing his chapter on Chastity, in the "Holy Living:" "Reader, stay, and read not the advices of the following section, unless thou hast a chaste spirit, or desirest to be chaste, or at least art apt to consider whether you ought or no. For there are some spirits so atheistical, and some so wholly possessed with a spirit of uncleanness, that they turn the most prudent and chaste discourses into dirt and filthy apprehensions."

All this we feel. Still it does not answer the question — what are we to do? Nor does it leave us easy in the conclusion to do nothing, or to do only that which has always been done. The evil continues. In all our larger cities it increases. The statements given us of London, New York, and other places, in a recent work by Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow, are appalling, even if you believe but the half of their figures and facts.* Nor in the cities only. The country is infested with obscene books, which find their way into our schools, and young boys and girls are approached by the vilest arts, their minds often poisoned, if not their virtue destroyed. We might give proofs of this, with places

* In some places, as in Paris, brothels are *licensed*, as the only way of controlling them. What a comment on the vice, on all licenses, and on public opinion!

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and details, but for the reason just assigned. We are sure that many of the young are infected or greatly exposed, where parents think not of it. And if we can do nothing else, we would warn against the danger of presuming upon the ignorance of children on these subjects. Generally they are not ignorant, and cannot be kept ignorant. Nature teaches them something, there are always some in every school and neighborhood whose conversation and example will teach more, there are servants who take pleasure in gratifying curiosity or corrupting innocence, there are panders, seducers, and vile prints, in all towns and villages; and our very newspapers, more read by all members of a family than anything else, contain every week descriptions, tales, trials, police reports, giving not only the grossest facts in unqualified terms, but all the particulars often, the knowledge of which we suppose to come so late in life, and their influence to be effectually prevented. In an interesting book recently published in New York, called "Walks of Usefulness," which, however, contains much that indicates zeal rather than wisdom, we find a warning that should not go unheeded, for which we ask room. It comes from an elderly and pious woman.

"In my walks of the past week, I have been constrained to lift a warning voice to parents with regard to their daughters. Why will parents send their daughters from the country to the city to learn trades, and thus remove them from the influences of home and parental restraints, and expose them to temptations which they could never know in the country? In visiting a number of degraded families, and finding one distressed woman in a garret, I remarked that I had seldom met with such a case of destitution. She told me that if I went into the cellar, I should find a case of equal, if not greater misery. Here I found a poor miserable young woman, the victim of loathsome and fatal disease; and as I listened to her tale of wo, my feelings were not a little agitated. She spoke of the time when she came to the city, unstained with vice, to get a trade and high wages, as she had been promised; but found instead, temptations to dress, allurements to associate with vain company, and step by step she was led the down-hill of vanity, until pollution and death were implanted in her system, and there seemed nothing before her but a fearful looking-for of judgment and fiery indignation. She is to-day to be taken to the Bellevue hospital. Oh! that parents and guardians in the country would be wise, that they would understand, and be warned by these things."

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We are persuaded, that there is cause for more anxiety, and room for more action on this whole subject, than have been common. There has been great ignorance, and what is worse, indifference, as to the real state of things, and the duty of parents and friends in relation to it. That parents and friends have a positive and direct duty here, we no more doubt than we doubt the duty of moral education at all. We believe this should be to all an early and constant subject of watchfulness. They should observe with religious care and close vigilance the very thoughts, as far as possible, the feelings, habits of mind, tendencies, exposures, companions, books, all the associations and influences of their children, with reference to this distinct evil, the sin of impurity in desire or action. They should seek in every way to imbue the opening and forming mind with a love of purity, and an abhorrence and dread of its opposite. This should be considered an essential part of every moral and religious education. And it should not be always left to take its place and chance among general instructions or casual cautions. It should sometimes be specific. Instruction and caution should be given definitely in relation to the evil; but in relation to the danger and the consequences, more than the nature of the corruption. On one point, we think, information should be given in plain terms — that is, as to the *physical* effects of sensual indulgence. Strange as it may seem, this is least thought of in the beginning, and many declare that a knowledge of it, or the slightest idea of its dreadful reality, would have restrained them when nothing else could. We may think it a low motive compared with many, but we must remember that it is inseparable from other motives, is peculiar, and will have power where all others are impotent. When it is known, among other facts, that not one in a hundred of the females who abandon themselves to this course lives many years from the beginning of her wretched career, it seems as if God had set his mark upon the vice, singularly, awfully.

There have been some judicious and valuable treatises published on this subject, which deserve attention, and may be found of great service in so difficult a work. As long ago as 1808, an excellent pamphlet was printed in Boston, entitled, "Caution against the sins of Unchastity; earnestly

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recommended to the attention of the young men of this town and other places; by one who feels a deep interest in their present and eternal welfare." It consists of two sermons by Zollikoffer, and an essay by Dr. Priestley, and was published in this form, we are told, by Buckminster; with whose pure name one is glad to associate such an effort. Of the books that have lately been published, we cannot recommend all we have seen, but one that is ascribed to Dr. Woodward of Worcester we do earnestly recommend. It is small, and treats wholly of that peculiar and secret vice, to which in his Reports he ascribes so large a proportion of the cases of insanity. It is called, "Hints for the Young, in relation to the Health of Body and Mind;" and while it should be retained in the hands of parents and the mature, it may help them in the most painful part of their duty. There is much also that is excellent in Graham's "Lectures to Young Men;" and yet more in a book to which we have already referred, by Wardlaw, bearing a name which ought never to have been so used — "Magdalenism."* The lectures of which it is composed contain a body of facts, principles, and persuasions, that cannot be studied in vain.

But after all, when information is obtained, the chief instruction and influence, we think, should be *oral*. Let parents talk confidently and faithfully with their children of all to which they are exposed, of all which most deeply concerns them. Let them do it early, kindly, judiciously, perseveringly if need be, and a blessing will rest upon it. And let public opinion fall heavily on the transgressors — on the specious seducer, more than on his poor victim; on the vulgar, or genteel libertine; on the vile pander, and the shameless adulterer. E. B. H.

* We know not why Mary Magdalene is made to bear this reproach. All we are told of her is that Jesus cured her of insanity, or some violent disease. "Out of whom he had cast seven devils:" Mark xvi. 9.

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ART. III. — LINES.

Suggested by Crawford's Statue of Orpheus, belonging to the Boston Athenæum.

INEXORABLE death has snatch'd away
The darling of his heart, his early pride;
— "Come back, come back, departed! to my side:"—
Unheard his plaint, in vain he bids her stay:
The triple-headed shape, that guards the way
To where the disembodied dead abide,
Is lull'd to sleep, and, through the path untried
By mortal feet, he flies from cheerful day;
Still, as he flies, sweet music tells his quest;
Silence lifts up her head to catch the sound;
The echoes, waken'd from eternal rest,
On all their wings diffuse the strain around;
— "Where art thou, lost one, and with whom a guest?
"Where in this gloom shall thy dear form be found?"

He penetrates the gloom; the altered scene
Spreads out, in pale repose, on every side;
Soft murmuring waters flow with gentle tide,
And there, reclin'd on banks of flowery green,
A crowd of old familiar forms is seen.
The powers relent, and follow'd by his bride,
He seeks the gates of life flung open wide.
Too soon, alas! he turns to view her mien:
And now he stands, gazing with mute surprise,
Not writh'd with agony, nor bath'd in tears,
But ever shading his bedazzl'd eyes,
Looks where the lovely phantom disappears:
Back to the land of shades she quickly hies,
But there he gazes still, nor credits yet his fears.

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Art. IV. — THE ATONEMENT.*

The late Dr. Carpenter did much to promote a sound interpretation and true knowledge of the Scriptures. We feel personally indebted to him, especially for a better understanding of the events of the Saviour's life, as arranged in his admirable "Harmony of the Gospels." His Lectures on the Atonement contain evidence of the critical skill for which he was distinguished; though we know not that our conclusions would be identical with his upon every particular point. But the criticism of bigotry, the special pleading of sectarianism is so rife, that it is refreshing to see the expositions of candor and moderation. And we are not of those who may think a careful criticism of the Bible of little importance. Things spiritual must indeed be spiritually discerned; but the understanding is closely connected with the spirit in perceiving God's truth as well as singing his praise. The letter without the spirit killeth, — but the spirit without the letter vanisheth, and giveth no life. And the history of opinions sadly shows, not only how the word of God may be rendered of none effect by superficial investigation, but how it may be abused, and portions of it tortured into a curse instead of a blessing to mankind. What monstrous errors, nay, what horrid crimes have come from the misinterpretation of a clause or particle in a sacred book!

We commend all the labors of the lamented author of the work before us. This work indeed, beyond its truth and justness, is of no very signal ability. Prepared for the pulpit, it lacks the compression that should mark discussions, especially those of considerable extent, designed to be read. But we doubt not it will do good. To some persons, and in some states of mind, its diffuse and hortatory character may even be a recommendation. But we cannot in fairness say, that in general ability, point and cogency of logic, it equals the work, written with the same view, of our own lamented countryman and beloved fellow-Christian, Noah Worcester. Instead of a more particular

* *Lectures on the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement, or of Reconciliation through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* By the late Lant Carpenter, LL. D. London: J. Green. 1843. 12mo. pp. 234.

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examination of the Lectures, we ask leave now to offer some remarks of our own on the subject.

The connexion between Christ's sufferings and man's redemption has been expressed by no word so generally as the word, Atonement. And the signs in the theological sky indicate, that no subject is destined to occupy more seriously the Christian mind of the present generation. The question concerning the mode of the Divine existence — whether in Trinity or Unity, and that concerning the native state of man, seem to be yielding the decisive position on the great field of controversy, to that concerning the Atonement.

Atonement, reconciliation with the Power above us — this is our great want, the universal, the everlasting want of the human soul. All history proves, that this peace with God has been the intensest craving of human nature. The friendship of the Deity, whether he were regarded as one or many — the comfort of his smile — the safety of his favor, this above all things man wants, this above all things he values, and to this, in his thoughtful moments, he is ready to sacrifice all things beside. So strong and vital and forever unbroken is the cord by which the Creator has fastened his child to himself. The annals of superstition show this, no less than the experience of "undefiled religion." The testimonies to this one desire of the human heart are thickly strewn through the whole interval from the rudest idolatry to the most spiritual adoration. Most touching is it to see the ignorant savage obeying this law of the necessity to human nature of the Divine complacency, — though he bow before a stick or a stone with his petition. God, we doubt not, judges him more kindly than his fellow-being.

Man has forced his sensual appetite to lay the first fruits of the field on the altar, to gain the Divine countenance. And the cattle, from a thousand hills, he has burnt by holocausts and hecatombs for an offering; and whether it were a thank-offering, a sin-offering, or a peace-offering, seeking substantially the same end. In a wild perversion of the religious sentiment the mother, with a heart beating like the Christian mother's, has flung the babe from her breast into the flood or the fire, and sacrificed that strongest earthly instinct of maternity to the stronger yearning for

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the approbation of her deity. The latest historian assures us of the consuming in Mexico, hardly more than three hundred years ago, of crowds on crowds of human victims to appease the national gods.* And essentially the same object, after which these sacrificers in such dreadful blindness groped, is that which towers above all other objects in the view of every Christian, namely, to secure the favor of that Being who holds our life and destiny. A decent morality is not enough for us — does not satisfy this essential need of rest in the bosom of the Father. Nothing but the absorption of worldly business, or the drowning of pleasure, or the giddy reel of vanity, can keep us long insensible to the aching void that will exist in the very vital places of the soul, till it has reached this religious satisfaction of having God for its friend. There is a panting and thirsting for God, a crying out of heart and flesh for the living God, and an anxious feeling after him, if haply one might find him, of which every human being has become conscious as soon as he has reflected deeply on his own nature.

Now here precisely we understand to be the atoning virtue of the Cross, — that it brings us to be at one with our Father. Human speculation may frame ingenious theories, and the pride of sect may passionately contend for the superiority of one or another of these, and boldly maintain that they reject the Scripture doctrine, who do not accept its particular explanation of that doctrine; but he preaches the truest doctrine of Atonement, who holds forth the Cross of Christ in those lights, in which its *reconciling* energy is most powerfully exerted and felt.

Let us try to designate some of these lights. The first reconciling power of the Cross lies in its manifestation of God's love. This origin of Christ's agony is expressly declared in Scripture. "He spared not his own Son," though dearly beloved and only-begotten, "but delivered him up for us all." The idea that God's vengeance for man's sin fell on his Son as a substituted victim, so far from finding a warrant in Scripture, meets only with repeated contradiction. It is an idea of false inference merely, and misinterpretation of figurative language; while many plain texts

* Prescott's Conquest of Mexico. Vol. I. Chap. iii.

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declare that the whole mission of Jesus, from his birth to his ascension, was the ordination of divine mercy.

And this knowledge of God's love was *needed* by mankind. All the mythologies, and well nigh all the philosophies, of earthly origin had been ignorant or doubtful on this very point,—of the disposition of the Supreme Power towards his creatures. The polytheist mingled low-minded and malignant deities with the noble and kind, and deemed even the generosity of the highest subject to the shifting wind of every momentary caprice, the only steady thing being unfeeling Fate, holding on its way, deaf alike to a groan or a thanksgiving. The greater refinement of polytheism could reduce the assembly of the gods only to two hostile divinities — the one benignant, and the other malevolent, — who took pleasure in thwarting each other's purposes towards mankind. And in the supposed agency of a personal Satan, still struggling with the Almighty, we have evidence how hard it is for the human mind to rise to the conception of one supreme, irresistible Goodness enthroned on the universe. Nor should this be to us a matter of mere surprise. The kindness of the Maker is everywhere displayed in the world, and in the frame of man. But it is not displayed everywhere on the surface. It is a spiritual and long-reaching kindness, and not easily comprehended. It is a great deep — its abysses unsounded and unknown. With the progress of science and human experience new treasures are ever drawn up from this ocean of the Divine love; the very gold and jewels of infinite mercy being found lying in the most unsightly places, and some new discovery in our bodily or mental constitution ever and anon informing us how good God has been to his children ever since the creation, without a single soul's having ever perceived this particular proof before. The secret bowels of the earth holding its richest treasures, are an emblem of the Divine goodness often sunk beneath our reach, and spread beyond our understanding.

Then, too, the goodness of God takes often the form of apparent evil — pain, hardship, poverty, grief; and much reflection is required to perceive the beneficent purpose of his whole Providence, which by the mass of men can perhaps be beheld only with the eye of faith.

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What then could be more beautiful and touching in all the Creator's dealings with his offspring, than this especial manifestation of his real love towards them; by surrendering, for their sakes, to all the pains and trials of a mortal condition, and even to the anguish of a bloody death, his dearly Beloved, with whom he was well pleased, who did only those things that pleased him, and whose resting-place was his own bosom — thus giving up his innocent and sinless Lamb too, to die for sinners? For sin was the dark form, moving between man's soul and heaven, that, more than all else, eclipsed the sun of the Father's love. But that Father's heart, yearning with inextinguishable tenderness towards even the disobedient and prodigal, sends from his own embrace the chief child of the family to restore the lost wanderers, — to sacrifice his own comfort as he hastened after them in the rocky wilderness of sin, — and as a return for his self-denying devotion, to submit meekly to a hatred, in those very sinners, whose burning thirst nothing but blood could quench. Truly, as the Apostle exclaims, "herein is love." Soundly the Apostle concludes, "He that spared not his own Son, * * how shall he not with him freely give us all things?" The testimonies that Jesus bore this near relation to God, are altogether singular and need not be enumerated. And though we cannot comprehend the affections of the Almighty, we know they must be more intense than any human love, unless we make the Father of angels and men to be a cold Law instead of a personal Friend. Can the persuasion indeed, by a believer in the Bible, be resisted, of God's inconceivable regard towards those with whom he thus dealt? And shall not this persuasion *reconcile* the most alienated and rebellious heart, that had speculated most skeptically about the Divine mercy, and had concluded, perhaps, most blasphemously, that an arbitrary severity ruled in the counsels of Heaven, or an insensible indifference to the fortunes of humanity, careless whether they were pleasant or adverse?

Oh, yes, the Creator's love is the great illumination of the Saviour's Cross. The world shows that love widespread, and Providence shows it deeply working, and our own nature shows it mysteriously involved; but the Cross shows it gushing out in a light new, brilliant and tender to every eye. The dying Redeemer's groans articulate it, and

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the blood that runs irregularly down the rough tree traces it. And it is not only the heathen that has had a gloomy doubt of God's love, or a hard insensibility to that love. *We* may not apprehend, or recognize it as we ought, and may need this special lesson to teach it. If we do not feelingly appreciate this disposition towards us of our Creator, as many do not, with all the multitude of formal and wordy thanksgivings lifted to the Infinite Throne; if we ever question it, as some still do, with the logic of an unbelieving heart; then let us look to the Cross of Christ, and we shall see it, and feel it, reconciling us to our forgotten and forsaken Father.

Another reconciling power of the Cross lies in its demonstration of the evil of sin. Not, we mean, as a singular appointed exhibition, but as a vivid and Divine illustration. Our own sins have removed us from peace with God, and a faint, inadequate idea of the evil of sin keeps us removed. "Fools make a mock at sin." But the Crucifixion paints sin to us in its true colors, shows how a drop of this gall will blacken all the transparency of the soul, and a particle of this venom sometimes poison all its health. It shows that sin stops not with the raging of the wicked against one another, making them blind executors of the sentence against each other's crimes, but that it will lay violent hands on the sinless, and lead the Lamb to the slaughter — that the picture of the wolf and the lamb presents its very countenance. It shows how great the evil which such a sacrifice, moving heaven and earth, was needed to subdue. It shows that sin is avaricious, and sells the blood of the just for a few pieces of silver; that it is ambitious, and loves popularity and man's praise more than God's, as with the very hands of justice it gives up the innocent to be the victim of murderers; that it is fanatical, practising the last cruelty of crime under the pretence of religion itself; that it is false, and makes friendship, with the very oath of fidelity yet warm on its lips, a base deserter; that it is cowardly, and forces love, that strongest of all things, though love like John's own, in the hour of danger to turn as a craven and flee away. Where, oh! where appears the enormity of sin so towering and glaring to the eye, as in that wounding and killing of the healing and life-giving Redeemer, — that breaking of the rod of justice on the

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head of the holy, — that sundering even of the bands that held the mutually devoted together, to go on unparted, as they all no less than Peter would have sworn, to prison and to death. And, alas! is all this a moral landscape of Judea only, an old picture of eighteen hundred years ago? Or is the same sin an inmate now of the human breast? Ah, the weakness of Peter, and the treachery of Judas, the perjury of Pilate, and the merciless bigotry of the Jew still survive. With all our holy indignation at the Saviour's betrayal, is not the scene itself the mirror of our own faces? Let the Crucifixion be a study for us of the real nature and actual features of sin. The monster has not changed within or without. He would do the same thing again. He *is* doing it every day. It is no extravagant hyperbole to say, that the sinner who pauses not at the Cross, who repents not as he comes in sight of Calvary, "crucifies his Lord afresh, and puts him to an open shame." He perpetuates the very occasion of all that melancholy wo.

To abjure the service of sin and cast off its bondage, the Crucifixion, then, more than aught else, louder than Sinai's thunders, exhorts us. And by moving us to be holy, it indeed reconciles us to God, and enables us to receive the Atonement, which sin alone is the fatal obstacle to prevent.

Once more, the Cross of Christ exerts a reconciling power in revealing the blessed purpose of suffering. The suffering of life is the great mystery that has pressed like a burden on the heart of the world. Whence and wherefore these painful tasks, these exquisite tortures, — every nerve in the body, every feeling in the soul made susceptible of pain? Who has constructed this rack on which man is stretched, and for what end was all this "sad variety of wo" invented? The metaphysical problem of the "origin of evil" troubles no longer him who contemplates the "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." For how reads the sacred record? That "he learned obedience by the things that he suffered," and that "the Captain of our salvation was made perfect through sufferings;" that he fasted to resist temptation, and watched in the garden to submit to God, and sweat great drops of blood to be strengthened by an angel, attracted as in admiration to the spot; and that a just God made all his pains, — the crown of thorns and the cup of gall, the scourge and the purple, — the means of his

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own elevation, as well as of the salvation of the world. And shall suffering have an errand of good, be a messenger of kindness to the unsinning and spotless one, — and we question whether its purging is needed by us? Shall our repining confront his submission, our selfishness contrast with his renunciation, and our murmurs mingle with his prayers? Shall one complaint or doubt be vented before the suffering Son of God? Oh, how much more do we need the cup, that none of us has drunk so deeply. Sufferer! with your various pangs enter the presence of your Lord, — go into the garden with him and kneel. Take your cross as he bids you, and bear it after him as he stoops under his. This is the "only begotten Son," and you then are no cast-away from the Father's love. If his chastening of his dearly Beloved was no sign of wrath, but the best benediction, you will be reconciled to your own trials, and so reconciled to God.

The last reconciling power of the Cross lies in the triumph it reveals of pious obedience. God is the vindicator of virtue. However exposed and insulted, however apparently baffled and defeated, its own at last shall be the victory. It may toil and weep, it may suffer and sweat, it may be forlorn and deserted, death and the tomb may be its appointed portion; but nevertheless it shall conquer. It is not alone, for God is with it. The earth may be darkened around it, and the veil of the holy place rent beside it, by the unchecked advances of wickedness; the great stone may be planted over its prostration, and the armed powers of this world be sent to guard its corpse; but it shall rise unconquerable. Angels of light shall watch by its very garments left behind it. The sin that seemed to crush it, shall flee forever from its reappearance, and its ascension into heaven take the place of its descent into the ground. Oh! thou, that doest and bearest virtuously, however humble and solitary in thy lot, however discouraged and opposed in thy endeavors, however foiled and seemingly borne down by this world's iniquity, be reconciled, be reconciled to God for the great hope and mighty assurance, that shines from the Cross of his Son, of the coming hour of thy vindication and reward.

Have we not shown that there is indeed atonement, reconciliation in the death of Jesus Christ? His Cross is a

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monument resting forever on this earth. They that planted it can never take it away. Nor is that taunting scroll, about "the King of the Jews," the only inscription upon it. It hath four sides, and on every one a sublime and inspiring sentence, on every one a persuasive and reconciling appeal. On the first, deeply engraved and more legible than blazonries of gold, the enduring and inextinguishable love of God to the children of men. On the second, a melancholy tracery, as though the blast of lightning had made it, of the evil of sin. On the third, letters that gleam as from a latent splendor through a dusky surface, of the blessedness of suffering. And on the last, sculptured and standing out in bold relief from the ground it is stamped on, the certain triumph of pious virtue. And the language of all is that of holy writ: — "we beseech you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God."

Can we not then understand and join in the Apostles' enthusiasm about the Cross? The Cross! Its meaning, before Jesus purged it, was viler than that of the gibbet, or the axe. The Cross! It was then a rough tree with a rude intersecting bar, for ragged nails to be hammered through the quivering limbs. Yet so exalted now is that base instrument by the sufferings of Jesus, that the most sympathizing Christian can hardly conceive of its first disgrace and bitterness. The Roman Power, then another name for the world, said, 'Let this forever be the symbol of the lowest shame upon the meanest malefactors.' Those blessed members of innocence, the hands of miraculous mercy, the feet swift to do good, were stretched on it, and the Roman decree became perishing breath. The Cross itself was indeed lifted up with him that was "lifted up" on it. It soon drew to its own ignominious shape the light and honor of the world. It shone with gold and precious stones; it stood in the form of massive cathedrals of uncounted cost; it marked the spot of fountains in the desert, after holding him who said, "I thirst;" and to the mariner in southern seas, that which ran blood on earth, glitters all made of stars, a glorious constellation from the heavens, fit emblem of our celestial guide over the storm-tost ocean of life.

"Thy birth-right in the world was pain and grief,
Thy love's return, ingratitude and hate,
The limbs thou heal'dst brought thee no relief,
The eyes thou open'dst calmly viewed thy fate."

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Yet the instrument of thy torture has become that of thy honor, and thy unexampled forgiving patience, thine unbounded, more than kingly might.

It may be thought we should have distinctly mentioned, among the reconciling powers of the Cross, the love of Jesus. The whole tone of our remarks shows, we trust, no faint appreciation of that love, the most blessed thing that ever came to earth in human shape, and parent of the most blessed things that have survived its mortal expression — parent of a purer piety, a nobler charity, of an entirely new interest of man in his brother. The effect, however, of the love of Jesus is not, directly and first of all, to reconcile to the Father, but to attach to the Son. But its indirect influence to this end is most powerful, because the love of Jesus is but the inspiration and likeness of the love of God. In this sense, indeed, he that hath seen him, hath seen the Father. Christ's love is the great rectification of men's opinions of the Divine character. They have personified their own bad passions, and lifted up their lowest lusts into the heavens, to make the image of what they should worship. And even now they too often think God altogether such an one as themselves, jealous and proud as they are, severe and inexorable in his dealings, exacting the very last farthing. The immense sweep of God's activity mortal comprehension cannot take in, but the very essence of his activity and life we have, given us on the reduced scale of earth and humanity, in Jesus Christ.

And the life, the spirit of Christ is a test of the truth of all suppositions respecting the Divine proceedings and government.

To the account we have given of the Atonement we are aware that objections are made, which perhaps fairness requires us to consider. And first may be objected, that we have represented it, not as an expiation for guilt, but purely a moral and spiritual influence on the sinner's mind, and that this does not meet the claims on the sinner of the Divine Law. There is a forfeit to be paid for past violation of this Law, ay, an infinite forfeit, — eternal torment being the meet recompense of all sin against an Infinite Being, — a forfeit that must be paid by the sinner, or by the Saviour bearing his penalty. Against this theory of the Atonement lie insuperable difficulties. First, it destroys the mercy of

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God, making him a mere Judge with whom is lodged no pardoning power. Has God then no prerogative of pardon, though he be the King of kings? Must the stroke of Almighty wrath fall somewhere, and the head even of innocence conduct away its lightnings, if the guilty be spared?

Again, this theory presents a fictitious notion of the penalty of sin. Who has told us that temporary offences deserve everlasting wo? Christ declared indeed the indissoluble connexion of sin and suffering; that sinners — that is, that class and character — "shall go into everlasting fire;" that their "worm dieth not," and their "fire is not quenched." But he has also declared, that whenever any man ceases to be a sinner — removes from that class and character — his desert and his destiny are changed. We must hold it for a monstrous misinterpretation, which makes him to mean, that the shortest course of sin, however repented and forsaken, exposes to a doom of forever unmitigated wo. Melancholy reproach upon Christ and God, making Heaven less gracious than earth, and the heart of creation colder and harder than any tyrant's that ever usurped a throne!

Nothing is said more plainly in the New Testament, than that suffering is proportioned to sin, — few stripes or many, the sentence according to the deed. Were it not so, the Divine government would be like those old human governments that inflicted capital punishment upon the smallest crimes.

Still further, this theory mistakes the meaning of the Law. Why, as the Apostles represent, was not the Law, that is, the prescribed observances of the Mosaic dispensation, sufficient to salvation, whether the *ritual* law was meant by them, or the *moral* included? Because what was really acceptable to God was not any series of external acts, however strict and punctual, but the enlivening principle of an obedient regard to God in the heart. Losing this, the Jews had departed from the true platform of their own religion. The vital principle of Judaism had been faith. The glory of their Father Abraham had been faith. And they were but required to exercise faith once more, and according to its primeval nature, in receiving the new messenger from above, Jesus Christ, whose day by faith Abraham himself indeed "saw, and was glad." In rejecting him they were then, with a moral perjury, forswearing their

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own religion. Even in that, mere works, a mechanical obedience of the Law, never had been pleasing to God, and never could be.

And here, in this very point, was the melancholy degeneracy of Judaism. The old faith had died out; the Law had become a round of trifling, debasing ceremonies, and Jesus had come to bring back with a new vitality and an exceeding glory that spirit of filial trust in the Infinite Father, which was the only thing that had ever made a human soul, Jew or Gentile, truly acceptable in his sight, even from the time of the rising smoke of Abel's sacrifice until then. Yes, the Law had indeed lost its soul of confiding reverence, and now lay like a corpse, superstitiously embalmed and jealously guarded, but cold and dead, in a slow decay. Its inadequacy, then, came not from God's indisposition to regard with favor an humble obedience to his commands. No, never! Nor from a horrible necessity he was under, to visit with a flame of undying wrath its slightest violation, (frightful supposition!) but from its being practised as a "dead letter," instead of as the living Divine will. The Law proper, the true moral and spiritual Law, Jesus declared stood not the less firm for his coming, but was thereby fulfilled.

Moreover, this theory assumes an effect of the Atonement, which has not taken place. It supposes all sin, at least of the believer, expiated in full by Christ's death. But does not the punishment of sin continue still, and is it not still threatened, though even the believer sin? And thus, contrary to the mercy of just human law, which does not even try an offender twice, actual punishment of sin is twice inflicted, — on the Saviour and the sinner too.

In fine, this theory, in rejecting God's free forgiveness, goes upon a wrong idea of that forgiveness, making it to consist in a miraculous suspension of the law of cause and effect, which binds sin and its wages together, and, unable to conceive of such suspension, lays the penalty, which the guilty escape, upon the head of the innocent. But is it not time we considered that mercy is not a miracle, but the course and order of the Divine dealings? The Divine forgiveness lies herein, that God has so made us, that sin is not irremediably fatal to the soul, and does not drag upon it, as a false theory pretends, consequences of absolutely

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boundless wo; that we can repent and have it remitted, believe and have it defeated; that there is a self-recuperative power God has put into us, by which its "crimson can become as wool, and its scarlet whiter than snow;" and that the pardoning grace in Christ lies in his touching so mightily the springs of this power to issues of penitence and obedience, as the prodigal goes back to his Father's house.

But again, it may be objected to the moral and spiritual view of the Atonement, that it does not meet the sacrificial language of Scripture, which implies that Christ's suffering must expiate our sins, as the old offerings of the Jews did theirs.

We ask, wherein lay the virtue and efficacy of those offerings? In the lambs and doves that were brought to the altar, or in the feelings and purposes of soul with which they were brought? The Bible answers. God would not eat the flesh nor drink the blood of those sacrifices. "Offer unto God thanksgiving." "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit." Even admitting then that those ancient slayings and burnings were types of the great sacrifice of the Lamb of God, we must hold that no account of them can be made consistent with Scripture, but that which regards them as symbols of inward dispositions, — the worship, thanksgiving, penitence, supplication, vows of the heart. Such a symbol let the Cross indeed be, transcending and displacing all others, and gloriously binding, by the law of association, the thoughts of all virtue and piety to the mind. Then, that Christ "bare our sins" will be expressive language: for how did Aaron bear the sins of the Jews, and how the goat that escaped into the wilderness? The very reference proves, that to bear another's sin, is not to be punished for that sin, but only to hold that sin up in some way significant and strong to make its actual author repent and forsake it.

But is not Christ, in so many words, called "the propitiation for our sins"? Competent critics all admit that the word rendered "propitiation" means mercy-seat; and God's mercy-seat is no place on which to lay any sacrifice to appease his imagined wrath. In general, for we have no time to enter more into particulars, the Apostles' large illustration of the effect of Christ's crucifixion by the sacrificial terms of Jewish worship is easily explained. They

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wished to use phraseology, that would most effectually carry home to the Jewish mind, which they particularly addressed, a just appreciation of the dying Saviour, and most powerfully penetrate the obstinate prejudices that had steeled that mind against his claims. What phraseology would do this, like that so inwoven in the Jewish institutions, so hung round with Jewish associations, and so steeped in every feeling of the Jewish heart? Accordingly the most differing portions of the Hebrew system are with equal readiness applied in the New Testament to express the influence or office of Jesus. Now he is our "Passover," or more particularly, the "Lamb without blemish;" and again the "high-priest," and still again the "mercy-seat;" while in other passages the Lamb of God becomes the "Shepherd of the flock," who lays down his life, and even again, in the affluence of metaphor so natural to the Oriental imagination, "the door of the sheep." But that such language was to be the only legitimate way, for all nations and times, of expressing the Atonement, who can believe the spirit of inspiration designed? And what could be expected from pressing all these figures of speech, and all this picture language, into a theological system of nice distinctions and severe definitions, but a violation, we may not decide whether greater, of the human understanding, or of God's word. But, taken as expressive emblems, all these figures have meaning, meaning deep and rich, meaning for us, inasmuch as their very abundance and difference show the strong and inexpressible sense the Apostles, as well as their Master, had of his near relation, as a suffering and dying Redeemer, to the human soul. Indeed that Redeemer's life, reaching its highest intensity as he expired, has put a living significance into the very words, "altar" and "sacrifice," which causes them still to adorn, as they forever will, human speech, though the priest's knife no longer gleams, and the victim's blood no more flows, in that temple at Jerusalem, from which these emblems of Christianity were drawn.

Once more, it may be objected, that the account we have given of the Atonement does not explain the striking language of Christ's agony in the garden, and on the Cross, praying that the cup might pass from him, and asking wherefore his God had forsaken him.

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That theory, which makes Christ to be then enduring in our place the punishment of sin, offers an explanation; that the pains which extorted from him such cries were the inflictions of Divine displeasure, and thus this abandonment by God was a sad reality. The cup was too bitter even for the all-patient one to drink, because it was like that cup the Psalmist speaks of, which had the wine of the Almighty's indignation in it. What! God indignant with Jesus! God forsaking his Son Jesus! Thanks be to God, that he sent an angel to him, to show that he had not forsaken him. No; God never left his dearly Beloved. Was he not present to hear the prayer, "Father, forgive them," and to receive the spirit his Child gave up? How strange, that the view of the Atonement that has been latest presented should so detract from the honor alike of God, and of Christ! And where lies the difficulty of understanding our Lord's expressions? He had a human nature; not the nature of angels had he taken on him, but a human nature susceptible of all suffering. In the extremity of its oppression was not its groan blameless, its submissive wish blameless, its reciting the language of a melancholy psalm, as a dirge over its own burial, blameless? Ye! that have suffered keenly, or have seen keen suffering, answer. But it is said, we turn to Jesus for a perfect example of fortitude, and here is something that looks like imperfection. Nay, disciples of Christ have ventured to affirm, that we have in history better examples of fortitude than our Master's own. So seems it not to us. We ask, what is the measure of fortitude? *Sensibility.* The savage, who, with hardened soul and body, endures laceration and the fire, has not the greatest possible fortitude, for he has the least possible sensibility. But the Saviour's almost woman's frame, borrowing no strength from stoical pride or revengeful hate, refined with every generous and delicate feeling, unseared with sin, undeadened by vice, was susceptible of the whole sharpness of every pang. No! he did not despise the suffering and brave it out. He felt it to the utmost. He drank the cup to its dregs, and tasted every drop. Oh! a strong and brave archangel, enduring the same infliction with unmoved countenance and impassive mind, would not so affect us, or set us such an example. These signs of Christ's anguish, by their own magnitude

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and expressiveness, become the very gauge and proof of his fortitude. Had we not known how much he suffered, we should not have known how much he bore. And thus his heaviness, his prayer, his exclamation, are the signals that stream high over Gethsemane and the Cross, to proclaim his pious resignation.

Nature failed, but the soul stood firm; human will implored, but accepted the Divine; and the very breath of that cry, "Why hast thou forsaken me," mingled with that of the cry which was final, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit." Strange, that we should be called upon, — and not by skeptics, but by Christians themselves, — to defend Christ's example. But we know of nothing, we will not say superior to, but that equals this. Take the sweat, take the groan, take the lonely kneeling out of the picture, and it would not be beautified, but shorn of its glory. Harden the face of the victim with unblenching courage, and the virtue would undergo disastrous eclipse. Make the dreadful valley, into which Jesus slowly, painfully descended, to be the easy slope which he bestrode with a step, and poor, struggling human nature, alas! would lose its holy exemplar, and its noble pioneer through the griefs of its own mortality.

There is no difficulty to faith then in Gethsemane or on Calvary. The cry becomes a cheer, the falling on the ground teaches us to bow when we petition; and the sinlessness of every act and word — however interpreted — in circumstances of so bitter trial, persuades us to "arm ourselves with the same mind" that was in Christ, inasmuch as he had the same nature that is in us.

We know of nothing that can hinder a complete resting in this view, save an erroneous idea, that the exaltation of a being necessarily diminishes his suffering, physical or mental. This very exaltation may increase both, and especially aggravate the latter. Ingratitude and desertion have not their sting taken away or blunted by the fervor and devotedness with which we have loved; the unjust and cruel sentence may oppress the consciously virtuous soul with a choking grief, harder to bear than the deserved punishment in which the guilty man sometimes doubtless takes a moral satisfaction; while sympathy with others' woes, rending the heart, it may be, with a keener anguish than

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its own trials, directly sends its fountain-stream from the height of moral elevation. Did not these three sources of suffering flow abundantly upon him, whom all his friends forsook and fled, who answered nothing to his foes' captious charges, and who said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but for yourselves and for your children;" — leaving the blessed antidotes of an approving conscience, and a glorious expectation that his heart might still throb, as it ever had throbbed, for others?

We have mentioned all the points of objection which require to be much examined. But we must say a word, in closing, of one or two other observations, that are thrown out in the way of criticism upon this view of the Atonement, as a moral and spiritual influence, though such influence only and directly the word itself, *reconcile*, implies.

We are told that the atoning sacrifice is a mystery, which we must not presume to explain; nor to reject, because it may be presented in a form difficult of comprehension. If we may be allowed to speak in the name of any who have sympathized in the foregoing sentiments, we would answer, that we are no rejecters of mystery in religion. On the dark, deep ground of an infinite wonder are drawn our brightest conceptions of God, and heaven, and immortality. And we are no deniers of mystery in the Atonement. There may be relations and effects of Christ's sufferings which the line of our understanding cannot fathom, and we trust there are, in the sublime, immeasurable connexions of Christ with God, and man with both. Again, we admit a mystery in the manner in which any Divine appeal, from nature or Scripture, from the course of Providence, or the faces of our friends, reaches the heart, and does its work. We are "fearfully and wonderfully made," and when we would know, to the very bottom, how we are wrought upon in any case, a question arises, which is transcendent and insolvable. Standing before the Cross, we would yield ourselves, thoughtless of the ingenuities of human logic, to the power of that mighty spectacle. We would open wide every sense of the soul, every window of the heart, and have the glorious vision stream through every channel of our being, as marvellous to penetrate and renew us, as the light of the morning. If we carry no figure of the Cross in our hand, we would have the Cross erected in our most

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affectionate and spiritual imagination, and gladly, oh! how gladly, receive from it more than we had expected in our scheme, and more than we can account for by our arguments.

But, plainly, this is no reason why particular theories of the Atonement, definitely laid down and logically maintained, which sects in religion would make exclusive, as alone deserving the name, should not be subjected to scrutiny, and, if found irrational and unscriptural, rejected; however it may be attempted to clothe them in this impenetrable armor of mystery.

Once more, and in fine, we are told that this making of the Atonement a moral and spiritual influence alone, can give no peace in death. 'It may be good to live by, but not good to die by.' As to the peace with which we may die, we will depend on Almighty God. When our own heart and flesh fail, we will not lean on any human arm, or the speculations of any human mind. We will try so to keep our own death in view, that none who would compass the grave also to make a proselyte, shall terrify us with it. We trust we deeply feel the need of God's forgiveness, that we may depart with a cheerful hope. Like all our fellow Christians, we would rely on God's mercy, especially as revealed in Jesus Christ. As we however do not feel now, so we fear not to feel at the last, that any particular theological theory of that mercy is of essential concern. But as all theories in that solemn hour fade and vanish from the mind's curious thought, we would only own and experience that great mercy more than ever, in the undying sentiment of the heart. In the blankness of weakened reason, we would have the Cross still rise in unearthly beauty and majesty on our believing sight, and, like him who hung upon it, hope to ascend to "his Father and our Father, his God and our God." C. A. B.

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Art. V. — A SCHOLAR OF THE MIDDLE AGE.*

The philosophy which proceeds upon the relations of cause and effect has as interesting and important a use when applied to history and biography, as when applied to science. Under its searching process the last few years have thrown much light upon the great events expressed by the Revival of Learning, and the Reformation of Religion. Our fathers gave the chief place and the principal renown in both these movements to Luther and Melancthon. We have learned to look upon these two distinguished men as pupils, entering into the labor of others, pursuing a work which had been begun for them, carrying on a task, the most difficult and the most essential stages of which had already been accomplished. Rosetti, in his History of the anti-papal spirit of the middle ages, has applied the true philosophy to those eras which have proved the fruitful sources of such high influence on succeeding centuries. He has done more than any other writer in disclosing the secret and distant agencies, which, slowly developing and concentrating themselves, were irresistible the moment they became visible. He gives to allegorical poets, and cunning romancers, and popular ballad singers, a great portion of the work which scholars never could have performed, in undermining the rotten foundations of error. The fascinations of song, the two-edged sword of satire, the subtle inventions of philosophy, and the mystic devices of the Cabala, were for more than a century the secret reformers of the Roman Church.

By those who had thought themselves long familiar with what has been considered as properly constituting the history of the Reformation, the writings of Scotus, Alcuin, Bacon, Abelard, Chaucer, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Savonarola, and Mirandola, have been reperused for the sake of discovering how far they protested, and urged reform. With the expectation of finding the same evidences of a spirit hostile to Roman corruption, and prepared

* "*The Life and Times of John Reuchlin, or Capnion, the Father of the German Reformation.* By Francis Barham, Esq., Editor of the Hebrew and English Bible, Collier's Ecclesiastical History, &c. London: Whittaker & Co. 1843. 12mo. pp. 284.

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for bold resistance, the works of the scholars of the middle ages have of late been searched, and a new and real interest has been attached to them. Thus the relations of cause and effect have compelled the most inquisitive historians, to transfer farther and farther back from one scholar to another, and even from one century to another, the credit of originating, within the Church, measures for Reform. It has, in fact, become impossible to decide with literal strictness who was the first Protestant; indeed the proud conclusion stands fully authenticated, that all along through what are called the dark ages, when Roman corruption was at its height, there was a pure stream secretly and propitiously pursuing its course through the Church, which would not mingle with the polluted waters. Importance and interest thus come to be attached to the great scholars who prepared the way for Luther, Melancthon and their compeers. Even the abundant testimonies which the writings of Luther and Melancthon afford of their confessed obligations to the scholars who immediately preceded, were not sufficient to fix a just attention upon these scholars. Inquisitive students have of late been searching out their claims, but the work has been so long neglected that some of the particulars which give a charm to such inquiries have irrecoverably perished from all record.

Among the eminent scholars who from this cause have failed to receive the grateful reward of those who owe unknown obligations to them, is John Reuchlin. This name, which in German signifies *smoke*, according to the custom of the literati of his times, was converted into its Greek equivalent, Capnion. With perfect justice he has been called the father of the German Reformation. Yet until the last year, there was no biography of him in the English language. His name occurred only in Encyclopedias, in ecclesiastical annals, or in the biographies of his contemporaries. Two biographies of him had appeared on the continent, when, a few years since, Dr. Mayerhoff published in German a very brief Treatise on Reuchlin and his Times, with a commendatory preface by Neander. The substance of this volume has been incorporated into an English work of real merit, which we have perused with interest.

The popular work of D'Aubigné, first, to English readers, disseminated the fame and the services of the great and

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good Reuchlin. Though he never left the Roman Communion, and, it is even said, revoked the will by which he had devised his valuable library to his cousin and pupil Melancthon, on account of the active participation of the latter in the Reformation, yet it is certain that the labor of his whole life turned to the account of the great change.

Reuchlin was born at Pforzheim, December 28, 1455, twelve years before Erasmus, twenty-eight years before Luther, and forty-two years before Melancthon. Thus he was enough their senior to be acknowledged by them as their tutor, and as the great originator of reform, the eye of light to Germany. He died in his sixty-seventh year, and considering the eventful period of his days, his life was very long, because crowded. He was born of virtuous and honest parents, though in necessitous circumstances, received an elementary education at what was called a Latin school, in the town, and having skill in music was called to Baden, in his eighteenth year, as court-singer. Thence he was sent to the High School at Paris, as the companion of the Margrave Frederick, in 1473. The taking of Constantinople twenty years before, by Mahomet II, had led some learned Greeks to seek refuge in Paris, where they introduced the Greek language, which for centuries had been unknown in Europe. Here Reuchlin learned the elements of that tongue, and obtained a livelihood by copying Greek manuscripts; and he enjoys the proud distinction of having been the first to introduce the language into Germany. As an eminent scholar, at a time when a scholar had first begun to receive honors which perhaps have never to such a degree been conferred since, he was an object of general admiration and of Court favor. He resided for longer or shorter periods at different universities and capitals. Emperors, princes and nobles honored and caressed him; he was a professor, a doctor of laws, a jurist, a statesman, a philosopher, and a theologian. He was the author of the first Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary in Germany, an unrivalled Oriental scholar, and excelled all his contemporaries in classical erudition. He lived chiefly at Stuttgard, happy apparently in his domestic relations, having contracted a childless marriage, and being blessed by public favor with a competency. He went on several missions to Rome, was twenty-nine years Proctor to the Dominican

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Monks, and was Judge of Alliance in Swabia, to the Emperor, eleven years. When enjoying some of his first public honors, in the year 1490, his income, from all sources, amounted to ninety florins, or thirty-six dollars. As a curious fact it may be mentioned, that it would have taken his whole salary, at this amount, for more than seventy years, to have purchased a Hebrew Bible in manuscript, which he received as a present from the Emperor; the identical volume which is now exhibited to visitors in the library of the Grand Duke at Carlsruhe.

As the fame and distinction of Reuchlin rest upon his attainments and services as a classical scholar, let us delineate the portraiture and describe the means and appliances of a scholar of the middle ages. It was with scanty literary materials that the giants of those days wrought out the means for rearing the stupendous fabric of modern learning and science. There were Arabic books by thousands. The literature of that tongue was then, and still is said to be, the most copious which any language contains. But it was sealed in perfect mystery from all save Arabic scholars, and one might as well have looked for blossoms on the Alps, as for Arabic scholars out of Arabia. There were the Scriptures, and the writings of the Fathers, known only to the monks, and to but very few of them. The Greek and Latin classics were known only in Italy, and even there they slumbered in deserted retreats, and were often destroyed as mere cumbersome lumber. It is said that the only known copy of the works of the humorist Aristophanes, served St. Chrysostom as a pillow. The most valuable of the classics were not recovered in Europe until after the beginning of the fifteenth century. Reuchlin was wont to put the services of all his friends into requisition to obtain him books, which probably in any of the principal towns of New England may now be had free for the asking. One friend writes to him from Paris, "Thou art angry that I have sent thee no Greek books, but thou requirest impossibilities. I have carefully examined every book-stall, but can nowhere find such. I can nowhere find Pliny, nor yet Livy, but I have bought Strabo for thee: thou wilt receive it, as soon as I can find some one to take charge of it." Another friend writes from Mantua, "I have busied myself day and night to get Homer copied in

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Latin, as you wished, but there are perpetually some hindrances in the way of the copyist." Another writes, "Here in Florence I find no Greek books, and have not been able to meet with a Hebrew Bible." The invention of the art of printing was scarcely in season to aid Reuchlin's early studies, though he availed himself of its help in publishing some of his smaller writings. Scholars were obliged to wait for a manuscript of a classic, or of the New Testament, to travel over a continent or to pass from hand to hand, as do the new magazines through a book-club. The difficulty of teaching, at that time, the simplest elements of knowledge, can scarcely be imagined. They had no grammars, dictionaries nor spelling books, no maps, no literary toys; and seeing that more of nonsense and falsehood than of wisdom and truth were taught, it was very difficult for an honest child to understand. Even Luther says he was whipped for dulness at school, about fifteen times a day. Petrarch, who was the first to restore the Greek language in Italy, says there were but ten persons in the country who understood it. The elements of all learning were then as dry, barren and unconnected, as a sand heap.

The traveller over the Southern portion of the European continent, if he love the memory of ancient days, will find an inexhaustible source of interest in searching among the monuments in the cathedrals and crowded cemeteries for the venerable mementos of the scholars of the middle ages. In the Campo Santo near Bologna, in that at Pisa, in those connected with all the universities, and in the church edifices and cathedrals, these monuments abound. There, in rude stone carvings, along the deep aisles, are piled up the tablets and effigies of the great men of a thousand years. The reverence of ages has hallowed them into shrines, without superstition. The long processions, which on the great festivals march solemnly through the churches, have scented even the stones with fragrant incense. Their ancient inscriptions, with barbarous spelling and contractions, perpetuate the immortality of true scholars. They remind us, how, when the almost hourly services of the convent by night and by day had been performed, the few scholars among the monks hurried back to their folios, "to behold the pleasant countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies." We may smile as we re-

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member their childish prejudices, and often unprofitable labors. But they were delving in mire and sand to lay true foundations. Many a hard struggle and many a bitter tear did their own ignorance cost them. But now they are dead, while we measure the value of their labors, we can only imagine their toil. In the removal of the wall of an old convent at Basle, a few years since, a box was found concealed in a hole, which contained a scrap of paper inscribed by a Carthusian monk, with the testimony of his secret, longing desire for truth. There are many such mementos over the whole of Europe. The highest and truest consecration of the gigantic ecclesiastical edifices of Europe, is the ashes of the scholars which they guard.

The sight of an ancient library suggests reflections similar to those which the cemetery or the monumental pile excites. There is something in the view of those huge folios, in their parchment binding and high-ribbed backs, which irresistibly brings before us the old scholars who composed and studied them. The outer covering of dingy vellum looks like the dry and sallow skin of the recluse student. The thick oaken covers, literally *boards*, are no unfit symbols of the hard skulls through which learning then must force its way. The worm holes which run through the volumes, eating out here a letter and there a word, typify the want of that clear and exact knowledge which is to be obtained only through grammars and dictionaries. The dry and discolored paper and the fading ink, remind us of the barren soil, and the poorness of the implements which labored to cover it with greenness and fertility. The printed page, with its unprofitable lore, contains a strange mixture of credulity and doubt, of wisdom and folly, as did an ancient brain. Last of all, the comments and corrections which later hands have traced in the margin, prove to us how youth, though it may become wiser than age, will often treat with irreverence its prejudices and infirmities. Those solemn ranks of embalmed warriors who fought the battles of the mind, have now their tombs above the ground, while their authors rest beneath.

The most distinguished scholar, contemporary with Reuchlin, he who possessed the most varied accomplishments, was John Picus, surnamed Mirandola, as prince of that little empire in Italy. He was the most handsome, the most

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learned, and the most accomplished man of his age, — the wonder and the praise of all Europe. All that was to be known, he knew. The dry details of the canon law he had mastered at the age of fourteen. He had run through all the subtleties and mysteries of philosophy, and acquired the Latin, Greek, Italian and Oriental languages, and had exhausted the aid of the continental universities, when at the age of twenty-two he appeared at Florence, a miracle of erudition. He then devoted himself to the trifling and ensnaring but most laborious pursuits of Cabalistic science — a favorite folly of Reuchlin's — ransacking all the stores of the Eastern Magi. When twenty-three years of age, he offered to maintain, at Rome, nine hundred propositions against all disputants. These were drawn from all quarters and on all subjects — logic, morals, mathematics, physics, metaphysics, theology, magic, and cabalistic mysteries. He projected works which have not yet been written, he obtained for himself unrivalled renown, and died at Florence, at the age of thirty-two. Standing over the ashes of this great scholar we read on a plain marble tablet a Latin inscription, which translated, is as follows; — "Here lies John Picus of Mirandola; the Tagus and the Ganges know the rest, and perhaps, even the Antipodes." Truth obliges us to add, that were this famous scholar to offer himself now, as a candidate for the mastership of one of our district schools, no committee would consider him qualified.

A scholar needed then to make his own grammar and dictionary. A prodigious memory for words, and facts, and dates, was the chief requisite. It is said that Lipsius, the distinguished editor of the works of Tacitus, offered to repeat from memory any passage of his author, with a dagger pointed at his breast, to be plunged in in case of failure. To the might of a few single minds the world owes its advancement. Every lesson of wisdom has been gathered by their study and sacrifice. The temple of truth has been reared stone by stone through the effort of single arms. There have been but few in each generation who have given a decisive impulse for good to their race, and seldom have they received in life the reward of their labors. They stand at long intervals apart, on the wide field of ages, severed by common throngs, who have afforded them a momentary glory or the honors of martyrdom.

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It was amid such weary obstacles, and inspired only by the sympathies of the few who felt the kindred glow imparted by the search for truth, that Reuchlin gave up his life to the hard service of heralding the lights of learning and religion. He was allowed to be the most learned scholar of his age in all Germany; the leader, patron and counsellor of those who by their wisdom, discretion and singleness of purpose gave dignity to the Reformation, which otherwise would have been characterised by untutored, though honest zeal. The life and career of Erasmus were acted upon by the Reformation; Reuchlin preceded and prepared it. Erasmus has had many biographers, yet his position is confessedly indefinable. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, we may be allowed to observe in this connexion, is not entitled to the estimation in which it has been held; the author possessed but a scanty and superficial knowledge of the men and the events of that age.

The most signal incident in the life of Reuchlin was his long protracted contest with the Dominican Monks of Cologne. They were called, *par excellence*, the mendicants; but some faint idea of the crushing weight of influence which they wielded, may be gathered from the open confession of Pope Alexander VI, who feared few things on earth or in heaven. He said, that he "would rather provoke the enmity of the most formidable sovereign, than offend even a single friar of those mendicant fraternities, who, under the mantle of humility, reigned omnipotent over the Christian world." Under the marvellously profound conviction, or profession, that whoever studied Hebrew must necessarily be a disguised Jew, the enemies of the new learning sought to make a victim of Reuchlin, because, by writing a grammar and lexicon for that language, he had introduced an enthusiasm for its study into Germany. The monks of Cologne, led by John Pfefferkorn, a base Jew, who had taken shelter from the hate of his countrymen in a profession of Christianity, endeavored to obtain from the Emperor an edict, that all Hebrew books, except the Bible, should be sought out and burned throughout the empire. This measure Reuchlin successfully opposed, by all the appliances of learning, wit, sarcasm and satire. The enemies with whom he had to grapple were cunning, adroit and all-powerful, nor had they ever as yet been vanquished. The struggle

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was protracted through several years, and when at last decided by an appeal to Rome and a most wearisome ecclesiastico-judicial investigation, Reuchlin was in imminent hazard of losing his well-won victory by the intrigues of the Dominicans, who nearly succeeded, by enormous bribery, in an attempt to bring the case before a Council. It was this contest of Reuchlin with the monks, as much as any act of Luther's life, that led to the grand development of Protestantism. The effort of the Colognese monks to reassert the ridiculous plea by which Omar had destroyed the library at Alexandria, had the effect of arousing all the friends of learning. Under the name of Reuchlinists, a fraternity of sympathising and united brethren was formed, which had its members in every chief town in Europe, — Italy, no less than England, being nobly represented in it. The services of this honored band of scholars to the cause of reviving learning, it is impossible now to estimate worthily. The degree of superstition, which, from their fond pursuits of astrology and cabalistic lore, still enthralled their minds, seemed to have much of the good effect of reverence or pietism in imbuing them with a profound spirituality, in endowing them with the demonstration of the spirit, and impressing them with a sense of the near reality of "the powers of the world to come." That piety as well as letters may learn high lessons, and catch a holy inspiration from these mighty men, is a truth which the literature of the last few years has eloquently taught us.

A just idea of the part which each of the most famous men of that day performed in the great Reformation, may be gathered from an incident described by Maius, one of the biographers of Reuchlin. He relates, that in 1530, when the Emperor Charles V. resided in the province, after he and his brother Ferdinand had concluded their dinner one day at noon, a band of foreigners asked and received liberty to perform a short pantomime. The actors wore masks, and were dressed in the garb of doctors, or others, bearing the names of those whom they represented on their backs. First appeared the representative of Johann Capnion, who threw into the hall a bundle of sticks, partly straight and partly crooked, and went out. Then came Erasmus, who, after trying in vain to arrange and straighten the sticks, indignantly departed. Then the monk, Martin

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Luther followed, who kindled the crooked sticks by casting a firebrand into the midst of them. One in imperial robes next entered; who, with a drawn sword, essayed to quench the flames. Last of all came Pope Leo X., who, amazed and terrified, looked all about for means to extinguish the conflagration. Seeing two baskets near, one of which contained oil, the other water, he seized the former and dashed it on the flames, which spread still further. In the confusion which ensued, the pantomime ended, and when the Emperor inquired for the actors, none knew their whereabout.

One of the most beautiful of Luther's letters is that which he wrote to Reuchlin, in grateful and reverent regard to "the brave man who had found grace of God, enabling him to stop the mouths of blasphemers." Erasmus likewise paid a noble tribute to Reuchlin by writing his apotheosis, and describing his canonization. The piece concludes with the following litany of thanks: —

"O God, the lover of mankind, who by thy chosen servant, John Reuchlin, hast given again to the world the gift of tongues, wherewith heretofore thou didst from heaven furnish thine Apostles, by thy Holy Spirit, for the preaching of the Gospel; grant that in all languages, all men, everywhere, may set forth the glory of thy Son Jesus: and confound thou the tongues of the false apostles, who are confederate to underprop the wicked tower of Babel, endeavoring to darken thy glory, while they study to advance their own; seeing that all glory is due unto thee alone, together with thine only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, and the Holy Spirit, unto eternity. Amen."

It is in the expression of sentiments like those conveyed in this prayer, that we find the evidence of heartfelt sympathy on the part of Erasmus in the cause of Reform. That he temporised and vacillated, and sought to share the confidence of the two contending parties, we must probably ascribe to the weakness of human nature. It was no small aggravation of the weight of responsibility and the risks which were incurred by those who consistently maintained the cause of learning and reform, that there was a third party who cooled their enthusiasm, and in a measure countenanced their opponents. The history of the Church has not wanted examples of like character since. As we

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look back through a long distance upon the fellowship of these early friends of learning, we offer one tribute to Erasmus, but another and a better to Reuchlin.

G. E. E.

Art. VI. — EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.*

It may well seem to those who have duly estimated the number, variety and cumulative force of the Evidences of Christianity, that the subject should have, long since, ceased to be a matter of any doubt; that its leading facts should thenceforth have been received as established; and the great truths thus authenticated, like those of the exact sciences, have been proceeded upon as a basis for further inquiries. But it requires little reflection to perceive that this is not possible, and further, that it is not desirable if it were. These facts, from the very circumstance that they are facts, and not abstract principles, rest upon moral, or as it is better termed, probable evidence; and evidence, therefore, which admits of indefinite degrees of strength and pertinency. However various then, however multifold, however, on the whole, satisfactory it may be, it never can amount to absolute demonstration; and, in its last and best result, must still lie open to the questions of those, who not knowing, or not caring to know what evidence ought to be decisive, still insist upon further proof, when ample proof, and indeed all the proof of which the subject admits, has been given. Nor, as we have hinted, is this demonstrative proof desirable. Though often sighed for by conscientious and questioning spirits, and demanded as an essential prerequisite to belief by cavillers and scoffers, it would yet prove, if granted, a sad anomaly in that great scheme of probation in which God has seen fit to place us, and by which alone character, the only thing worth living for, is

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* *Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity.* By John Gorham Palfrey. With a Discourse on the Life and Character of John Lowell, Jr. By Edward Everett. Boston: James Monroe & Co. 1843. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 367 and 444.

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to be formed. It would take away, in the very initiatory steps of our religious progress, the power of choice, and there would be, in consequence, no merit in believing, since, from the nature of the case, no one could doubt if he would. And all that moral discipline which is now involved in an act of rational faith, such as giving or withholding a faithful attention to the subject, fairly estimating the weight and defect of evidence, yielding our hearts and lives to its just influence, would be done away. And how important this moral discipline is, may appear from the fact that it is to all persons a difficult thing to regulate faith aright, and to some much easier to do, and even to be, than it is to believe.

It is further to be remembered, that the doubts and difficulties which are alleged against the Evidences of Christianity, will, of necessity, vary in their character from age to age. The circumstance of less or greater remoteness from the period when the facts relied upon are said to have taken place, and still more the degree and kind of enlightenment of every subsequent period, will affect their tone and character. Jewish unbelief will assume one specific form, Heathen unbelief another, and that of modern deism a third. And though it will be found, in the last analysis, that the elements of skepticism are few in number, and by no means fatal in their character, yet that they are susceptible of being continually reproduced under different forms and in different aspects, and will require, therefore, continually a practised eye and hand to ascertain their real nature and affinities. Thus for example, what the Epicurean Celsus urged as an objection against Christianity in the second century, is repeated by the deists, Lord Herbert and Tindal, in the seventeenth and eighteenth; and the dreamy pietism that dispensed with the facts of the Gospel history, and thereby repudiated the Divine authority of the Saviour Jesus, as a Teacher, a hundred years ago, has attained, and with similar effect, a sort of shadowy and brainless existence, like the ghosts that Æneas vainly attempted to destroy, "tenues sine corpore vitas * * cavâ sub imagine formæ," in our day.

As then it is neither to be expected nor desired, in a condition of things like the present, that the time will ever come that an exposition and enforcement of the Evidences of

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Christianity will not be needed, and needed especially in a popular form, we owe, as a community, no common debt of gratitude to the Founder of those Lectures of which the book before us is the first published specimen, for including this "high argument" among that series of topics which are to occupy a permanent place in the course. His words are: "For the more perfect demonstration of the truth of those moral and religious precepts, by which alone, as I believe, men can be secure of happiness in this world and [in] that to come, I wish a course of lectures to be delivered on the historical and internal evidences in favor of Christianity."

The Lectures, on which we now* propose to offer some remarks, are very properly introduced to the public by an account of the Life and Character of their Founder, the late Mr. John Lowell, Jr. This is written by Mr. Everett, at present our Minister at the Court of St. James, of which it is enough to say here, that it is characterized by that simple elegance of style, and felicitous array of facts, which mark all the similar productions of the author.

Dr. Palfrey being the first Lecturer, on this foundation, upon the Evidences of Christianity, judged rightly in confining himself to a general statement of them, since it is well that these should be ascertained, surveyed, and marked out for the purpose of reference by future Lecturers, and as affording a ground-work for such details as they might wish to pursue. By adopting this course, however, he subjected himself to the always irksome task of repeating, with some particularity, what had often been stated before; while at the same time, he was precluded from following out, to any great extent, any original discussions, which the subject had suggested to his own mind, and which might be rendered especially attractive to his audience. Still there is no servile copying here. He pays no slavish deference to any authority, as such. He writes evidently from a mind full of the subject, but one convertible and free. He derives ideas from various sources, yet takes his own views of every topic, and states and presents them in

* It is due to the learned author of these volumes, to our readers, and especially to the late editor of the *Examiner*, to state, that early arrangements were made by him for a fitting notice of this work, which were defeated by circumstances out of his control.

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his own way. His whole treatment of the argument exhibits all the originality that can belong to a trite and worn theme, that of bearing the impress and individuality of his own mind.

We now proceed to the subject matter of these volumes. And in the very outset we must observe, that, if we rightly understand the author, we cannot agree with him in the *statement of the question* which he proposes to discuss. It seems to us, that he does not present the proper issue in dispute between believers and unbelievers in the truth of Christianity. He says, "should I state the question, to which the Evidences of Christianity relate, to be this, namely, whether the faith taught by Jesus of Nazareth and his Apostles was a direct supernatural revelation from God, I should state it as it actually lies before my own view;" and then goes on to say that he will not assume this to be a correct statement. But why not assume it? Because, to quote his own words, "it may be that some would deny the issue thus made to be the true one, and would say that credit may be due to Christianity, though not in the character of a supernatural revelation from the Deity, yet in some other." Suppose they do. Still the question is, whether this religion was of *supernatural* origin. It was on this ground, and on this alone, that it was uniformly and throughout placed by its immediate Author, Jesus of Nazareth. This is the plain distinction recognized by the Founder of these Lectures, since he makes provision for a course of instruction on Natural Religion, as distinct from the "historical and internal evidences in favor of Christianity." It is *the* question which is really, and in point of fact, at issue between the believer and the infidel. It is not, it seems to us, as the author states, "can the religion of Jesus present a *trustworthy* exhibition of the religious relations, duty, and prospects of man;" but, whether it presents an *authoritative* one. It may be trustworthy in various degrees, and on various accounts. Herbert of Cherbury, and many other deists have believed "that credit may be due to Christianity, though not in the character of a supernatural revelation from the Deity, yet in some other;" as, for example, because they admit its truths to be as "old as the creation," and to be consonant with the best reason and intimate experience of the human soul.

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The question, the real question, the only important question, to which a course of Lectures like those before us should provide an answer is, not whether the religion of Jesus presents a "correct" or "trustworthy" exhibition of our religious relations, but whether this exhibition be one that is enforced by supernatural authority? If it be, its correctness and trustworthiness follow of course. But it may be correct and trustworthy, in a very high degree, without necessarily implying that it is *authoritative* in the sense of the term here intended, or *authoritative* in the sense which its Founder claimed for it. His uniform language in reference to the point is, "I have greater witness than that of John; for the *works* which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me." "Though ye believe not me, believe the *works*." We need not remind the learned author of these Lectures, that by "works" here, Jesus refers to his miracles. After all, we suppose, there is no essential difference of opinion between us on the point, since the whole drift of the Lectures is directed to the issue which we hold to be the true one. Indeed this is stated in the strongest terms in the latter part of this very first Lecture. Still so acute a logician as Dr. Palfrey will at once admit, that there should be no error or ambiguity in so essential a part of his argument, as the statement of the question.

The greater part of the first Lecture is employed in discriminating the different kinds of evidence, which have been relied upon in proving the credibility of the Christian revelation. This is eminently proper, since unbelief is occasioned more frequently, perhaps, by a mistake in reference to the *nature and degree of proof* that should be satisfactory on this subject, than by any other. And a strange confusion of thought often prevails in the midst of professed Christians, on the same subject. An intelligent and reasonable man will not look for demonstrative evidence, where, from the nature of the case, there can only exist that which is moral or probable. To prove an historical fact he will not seek the apparatus of mathematical formulas, nor will accept the testimony of all the geometers who have ever lived in proof of the relation of curves and angles. Nor would he, in regard to the subject before us, so far

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confound the nature of internal and external evidence, as to expect from the former any proof of a past fact, or from the latter those inherent marks of probity and good faith by which the credibility of a witness is sustained. This whole train of thought in the Lecture before us is singularly acute and just, and we commend it to the attentive perusal of those who imagine they can *feel* and *see* the truth of Christianity; and it may inform or remind those, who, not feeling or seeing this sort of proof, are therefore skeptical, that this is not the evidence to be looked after or felt as leading or decisive on a question like this. But while we agree in the theoretical statement of these two kinds of evidence as laid down by Dr. Palfrey, we cannot but think he undervalues the practical effect of internal evidence on the common mind. In a vast variety of instances, all that we require in the witnesses of the Gospel is, that they are *credible* witnesses, that they are to be believed, since from the nature of the case they could not have been deceived in what they affirm; and this credibility is manifested by multiplied *internal* marks of probity and fairness and veracity, which are obvious on the very face of the record, and which by a fair mind, can neither be gainsaid nor resisted. Indeed this is true in a greater or less degree of all the witnesses of the New Testament, and admirably so of the great Witness, Jesus Christ himself.

The first Lecture is appropriately closed by some just remarks upon the state of mind which should be brought to an investigation of the subject. This should be one of deep and reverential seriousness, since the question at issue is not only more important than all others, but it is one before which all others fade away into absolute nothingness. If myriads of worlds were offered to our acceptance on the one hand, and a clear, rational, decided, antedating faith were offered on the other, no man in his senses, no man who has a glimpse of the infinite value of the human soul, no man who has made an approach, in his conceptions, to the solemn import of the revelations of Christianity, would hesitate, for an instant, in his choice. Well does the author before us observe, and well does his book as a whole illustrate his own idea, that "such an inquiry deserves the best devotion of the best powers of the mind,"

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and "whatever can be done in the way of cool, cautious, discriminating, fair investigation."

As the Christian revelation rests on facts, as its basis; as its facts, like all other facts, are only to be ascertained, in ages subsequent to their alleged occurrence, by external proof, or testimony; as these facts, moreover, are beyond, or in opposition to the known laws of nature, so called, or in other words, are miraculous; as it has been, further, objected to them, that they are not, and cannot, by their very nature, be susceptible of satisfactory proof; and as, if this be so, all further progress in the external evidence of Christianity is precluded; the author before us very properly addresses himself, in the second Lecture, to remove this objection.

Indeed, the objection, on every account, demands the most faithful investigation. It is, at the present day, one of the most prevalent; and is likely, from certain new developments which are supposed to be taking place in the bodily and mental organization of man, and also from the remarkable progress in physical inquiries that characterizes our age, to prevail, if not checked, more and more. It is an objection, yet further, that most frequently suggests itself to thinking minds in their questioning moods, and to unthinking minds in all their moods. And there are deep-seated causes for this. All the ordinary phenomena of nature are presented to us in regular sequences, or in a connected series, and we are so constituted, that we cannot help inferring that the one which precedes necessitates the existence of that which follows, or stands to it, as we say, in the relation of a cause. The order of nature is, for wise and benevolent purposes, uniform, and we *assume* it to be necessary. Miracles, therefore, which, by their very nature, interrupt or rather transcend these sequences, and break in upon this order, naturally appear to be strange, insulated and anomalous facts, and are therefore regarded, on first view, with doubt and incredulity. We believe this to be the inherent, the essential and continually pervading cause of any skepticism that may exist on the subject of miracles. Other causes of a temporary character, which we need not refer to here, come in aid of the same result; but this is one which belongs to the very nature of man, and to his condition in the present world. We are not surprised,

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therefore, that the minds of many intelligent men naturally reluct from the very statement of miraculous facts. This reluctance is rational up to a certain point; nay, it exists to such a degree as to throw the burden of proof upon him who asserts these to have taken place. How little importance this objection will assume, in reference to the alleged miracles of the New Testament, will soon be seen. Meantime, nothing is gained for the result, by denying the existence of the difficulty.*

The theoretical objection against the credibility of miracles assumes different forms, and prevails in different degrees in different minds. It goes, when carried out, to the full extent of denying that any evidence whatsoever can avail to prove the reality of miracles, and therefore that all accounts of such alleged interruptions of the "laws of nature" may be dismissed, at once, without examination. The objection assumes a two-fold form. First, it is said, that miracles are essentially *impossible*, and next, that if possible, they are essentially *incredible*. The author, in the Lecture before us, examines thoroughly both positions. His argument is altogether too elaborate to be minutely stated in these pages. We shall only attempt to put on record here a few thoughts, in a condensed form, which, if we no not err, will be found to meet the whole difficulty.

In regard to the former part of the objection, namely, that miracles are essentially impossible, we cannot but think that the learned author might have easily economized his skill and acuteness, since the argument is susceptible of

* With these views of the subject, we would observe in passing, that we are surprised at the statements of a very learned and philosophical advocate for the credibility of the Christian miracles, and one, who, we suppose, by no means stands alone in his position — Isaac Taylor, in his "Process of Historical Proof." "It is nothing but a prejudice," he observes, "though it is one not easily dispelled, which leads us to demand a proportion or correspondency in magnitude, or in force, or in amount, between facts and testimony." "The facts and evidences are as independent of each other, as fortuity can make them. To demand a proportion between them, is, therefore, in the last degree absurd. * * But since neither the nature of the facts, nor the extent of their consequences is linked to the testimony, the amount of that testimony cannot, with reason, be made the measure of faith." We only observe on this, that if it be a "prejudice" to demand more evidence for the existence of an uncommon, strange, anomalous fact, than for one of ordinary and every-day occurrence, it is one which will not be "easily dispelled" from our minds.

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being comprised in a few words. Miracles *can* be wrought by God, if he be omnipotent, which all, who believe in God at all, admit at the outset; and there is nothing in his invariableness (which is the attribute on which the supposed objection is founded) to prevent his working them, since this invariableness is one of character, and not of agency. It binds him not to one course of proceeding, but to a consistency with himself, or with his essential perfections. If goodness be one of these, (which all admit) then, in a conjuncture of things in which a greater good can be produced by a deviation from his accustomed course, than by pursuing it, the very invariableness of his character will bind him to the deviation.

Can, then, this deviation from what is called the order of nature, in other words, can miracles, be proved to have taken place?

Why not? They are facts obvious to all the senses. If we saw them performed, we could not doubt their existence, without stultifying ourselves. If then *we thus know* them to have thus occurred, can we not transmit to others a credible account of them? No, it is said; because no testimony can ever prove the reality of a miracle. This, in short terms, is the far-famed objection of Mr. Hume. All belief, according to him, is based upon, and governed by "experience." Now, says he, it is contrary to experience that the order of nature should ever be broken in upon, but it is not contrary to experience that testimony should prove false. Testimony therefore can never be relied upon to establish the reality of such a supposed fact. In other words, for we wish to make the points at issue entirely plain, there *may* be a flaw in *testimony;* there *can* be no break in the *order of nature.* And hence, it is inferred, there is such an overwhelming presumption against the existence of miracles, that, to use the language of Mr. Hume, "no testimony for any kind of miracle can ever possibly amount to a probability, much less to a proof."

It is common to call this a "cavil," a "sophism," one of the very "weakest weapons of the forge of infidelity." But it is well to remember that there is no argument in sneers or in hard names. And besides, if this objection be so utterly futile, why do theologians give it such earnest heed? Why do they make books about it? Why "thrice slay the slain?" On the contrary we deem it a very

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specious objection at least, and one that calls for a thorough reply. It seems to us to be a remarkable specimen of the felicitous use of ambiguous terms; of adroit shifting of the points in question, and of *asserting* in one premiss of the argument, what is triumphantly *inferred* in the conclusion. It is, moreover, as Dr. Campbell says, "stated in a pompous diction, that serves at once for decoration and disguise." With proper admiration of the speciousness of the objection, and of the skill and adroitness with which it is put, we proceed to offer a few words in reply.

First it is asserted, that all belief rests upon, and is regulated by "experience." This we must take leave utterly to deny. So far is it from being true, that all belief thus rests upon and is regulated by experience, the fact is, that the principles of human belief are wholly independent of outward experience. They are anterior to it in the mind of every human being. They have nothing to do with it. They may, and do in fact, exist, where there is no experience whatsoever. The belief of children amounts to absolute credulity, long before their experience begins. Our *distrust* of testimony is rather the result of experience, and this distrust, so far from being natural and therefore agreeable to the mind, is always, until experience has rendered it familiar, painful. The natural presumption of the human mind is in favor of the truth of testimony. There are a thousand or a million chances, so to speak, against the occurrence of a particular fact: such for example, as the meeting of a certain individual, at a certain time, and place; in certain circumstances; in a certain mood of mind; with a certain aspect, movement, look and tone of voice: and yet the simple assertion of any man of common veracity, that such a fact took place, would be at once received as true.* What "experience," again, have we, of intuitive truths, or of what is going on in other minds? What "experience" have we of the existence and attributes of God? In the sense in which Mr. Hume uses the word, the very basis of his whole argument, therefore, is unsound. We believe, and are so constituted that we cannot help believing, many things of which we have no "experience," and among them, for aught that thus far appears, may be miracles.

* See Butler's Analogy. Part II. Chap. ii.

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But it may be said, that he meant to restrict his argument to facts which fall under the cognizance of the senses, and that our belief in these depends upon, and is regulated by "experience" of the order of nature. Here we would ask, whose experience? Yours, or ours, or the general experience of mankind? Certainly, miracles are opposed to this, or else they would be no miracles at all. In becoming common, they would lose their distinctive character, and fail of their alleged purpose. Is it then a valid objection against miracles, that they are opposed to the general experience of mankind? This of course will not be said, because it is according to uniform experience that men do believe in the existence of a multitude of things that never fall nor can fall within general experience. It is steadily believed by all persons qualified to have an opinion on the subject, that myriads of articulated animals are to be found in single drops of certain fluids; that the remains of the animal called the trilobite is found on that "floor" of the earth, which is formed by the transition slates and limestones; and that those of the huge vertebrated animals called saurians are much higher up in the series of strata; and yet it has not fallen within the "experience" of one person in a million to have seen these remains. Let the objector against miracles on the ground that they come not within the general "experience" of men, be consistent then, and apply the same rule to everything else within human belief, to which it properly applies, and he will need no words of ours to show its utter futility.*

* But it may be said, yet further, that it is not against facts merely as unknown to general experience, that the objection before us is levelled; since it must be admitted that these, though then unknown, may be authenticated by sufficient testimony; but it is against those alleged miracles, which are not only unknown, but are irreconcilably opposed to all the known laws of nature. It is true they are; for, as we have said, this constitutes their distinctive character. But are they on this account to be discredited? Not if we act consistently; since "experience" shows us every day that we do and must admit many facts, (as, for instance, in natural philosophy,) as facts, which are not, so far as we know, to be reconciled with any known laws of nature. And suppose, further, they are totally irreconcilable with these laws; still, *as facts*, they must be received. Suppose the alleged phenomena of Mesmerism, or Neurology, or Pathetism are real facts; and suppose, further, they are totally and necessarily opposed to all the laws of nature; still, *as facts*, they are not, on the ground of their anomalous character, unsusceptible of proof.

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It is no objection then against miracles, to say, that they are opposed to general experience. The objection to be of any weight must go further, and assert that miracles are contrary to *universal* experience. This was evidently the objection in Mr. Hume's mind, if he had anything distinct in his mind concerning the subject, and did not mean to be disingenuous. But to assert this, is only to assert the very thing to be proved. The Christian advocate says, that miracles are not opposed to the universal experience of men, because credible men testify, under circumstances that preclude the imputation of self-deception, and the intention of deceiving others, that they saw them. Mr. Hume says, these men are not to be believed, because they testify to facts which are contrary to universal experience. And when driven to his proof of this fact, *asserts* it is so. Thus it is that this far-famed objection terminates at last, in that poorest of logical paralogisms, which is called *petitio principii*, or a begging of the question.

But the defender of miracles does not rest the question on the entire want of proof for what is thus asserted, but on the contrary, he declares that in the record of the world's experience there is an instance of a similar interruption of this so called "order of nature," in the establishment of the Jewish religion. So far then is it from being true that the miracles of Christianity are anomalous facts, they have perfect prototypes, so far as the argument before us is concerned, in the early history of the human race.

Prototypes, we say; for when we speak of the lessons of experience, we must refer, if we mean to speak consequently, to facts of a similar and analogous character, that is, those which are like to the alleged miracles in themselves, and like in respect to their results. It signifies nothing to quote a state or a series of circumstances, which bear no resemblance to those which are called in question, and then to infer from the admitted falsity of the latter the falsity of the former. The believer in the miracles related in the New Testament admits as readily as Mr. Hume, that, under circumstances entirely different from those there recorded, stories of miracles have been told, which are downright impositions. But he does not infer from this, as Mr. Hume does, that therefore the alleged miracles of the New Testament are unworthy of credit. His faith is not authen-

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ticated by such reasoning as this. But he asserts that no instance can be cited, from the whole history of the world, of a class of miraculous facts like those of the New Testament, performed under the same or analogous circumstances, and for the same object, which have proved to be deceptive. This has not been so much as attempted. But until this is done, no objection can be raised on the ground of "experience" against the miracles of Christianity. If Mr. Hume had kept this in mind, he would not have been guilty of the folly, or the disingenuousness of quoting, as he has, at much length, such miserable fables as that of the fortune-teller Alexander of Pontus, of Cardinal de Retz concerning the lamp-lighter's leg at Saragossa, or the alleged miracles of the Abbé Paris, and of attempting, from such statements as these, to cast discredit on the works ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth.

But we must leave this part of Mr. Hume's objection here. Even from these brief and condensed remarks it may be sufficiently evident, that there is no such opposition of the alleged miracles of the Gospel to human experience as to render them incapable of proof by testimony. We refer all who wish to see the subject treated in a truly masterly manner to the well-known Dissertation of Campbell, and to the no less acute and satisfactory Lecture before us.

The other part of the objection which we have been considering is, that it is not contrary to experience, that testimony should be deceptive and unworthy of trust. Certainly it is not. This is a mere truism, and one that has no relevancy to the subject before us. To have any such relevancy, one of two things must be shown; either first, that testimony is *always* unworthy of trust, and, of course, is so in regard to accounts of the Christian miracles, a degree of Pyrrhonism that nobody would assert at the present day, and which nobody would care for, if they did; or else that, under *circumstances similar to those* which attended these alleged miracles, testimony in support of alleged miracles has proved to be false. This, we insist, has not been done. Every attempt of this kind, Mr. Hume's among the rest, is a miserable failure. But until this has been accomplished, there is no significance, so far as it respects the question at issue, in the remark, that it is "not contrary to experience that testimony should be false." The truth is,

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as is stated with singular force and accuracy in this Lecture, and is also distinctly advanced by Mr. Hume, that every question of evidence presents to us an alternative of opposite probabilities. It is this: which is the more likely, that the testimony is true, or that the fact which it asserts, did not take place? The testimony of the witness is a fact to be accounted for, as much as the fact he asserts. It shows his intention to convey certain statements to other minds. Now, why has he this intention? This is a fact to be ascertained. It may be a deceptive one; or it may be an honest one, but based on ignorance; or it may be both honest and well-informed. At any rate it is a fact to be accounted for, and if, in a fair and rational estimate, it cannot be accounted for except by an admission of the fact it asserts, then the balance of probabilities is in its favor, and the fact is to be taken as proved. It is to this test the rational believer in Christianity subjects its evidences, and he accepts it as true, because he deems it to be a greater miracle that all its evidences, external and internal, should be false and deceptive, than that the miracles on which it is based, under all the circumstances of the case, should be real; that it requires more credulity to believe the inadequacy of its testimony, than that this testimony is sound and valid.

We have occupied so many of our pages on the antecedent objection to Christianity arising from its miraculous character, because, as we have said, it is the objection which, more than any other, rests on men's minds at the present day, and sheds a death-blight on their faith. And we have endeavored to remove this objection for another reason. The miraculous character of Christianity is an essential part of it. Christianity is, as we believe, nothing without this, or nothing of much significance. If it only embraces a set of truths, which the human mind has elaborated out of itself and by its own inherent energies, we may, indeed, admire their depth and comprehensiveness, but its distinctive efficacy as an *authoritative* rule of life and *sufficing* basis of immortal hope are gone. Besides, it seems to us utterly impossible that the miracles of Christianity can be dissected out of it and leave any thing vital behind. It is not only presented to us, as sustained by miracles, but it is, in and of itself, one entire miracle throughout. Its Founder, and his disciples, claimed to speak on authority derived di-

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rectly from Almighty God; and in proof of this, they urged those miraculous works which none could do unless God were with them. On this ground, and on this ground alone, they claimed the faith and obedience of men. Take out the miracles from the narrative of the Gospel histories, and you will leave breaks and chasms that will bring discredit on the whole history. The miracles are throughout appealed to in support of the doctrines, and you cannot separate them from the fabric of the Christian revelation without rending it in pieces. We do not pretend to say what, or how much, belief is necessary to entitle a man to the appellation of Christian. This depends on the use of language, which is always conventional; and we have no invidious desire to restrict the term to ourselves, or deny it to others. But we must say, that, in our opinion, the Christianity which is deprived of its miraculous authentication cannot be sustained.

The whole objection in regard to the alleged miracles of the New Testament, is essentially an atheistical one. He who believes in the existence of an infinitely powerful, wise, good, and ever-present Deity, will have no more difficulty in believing in his miraculous, than in his ordinary, agency in the affairs of men. The "laws" or "order of nature," the supposed interruption of which occasions all the skepticism which prevails on the subject, are simply modes of God's action. They are generally uniform, because, as it is easy to see, the interests of his intelligent offspring are best promoted thereby, up to a certain point. But if God has ends in regard to his creatures, which cannot be subserved by this common agency of his, or a condition of things should occur, which would render a different mode of operation necessary or proper, and one which, for this time, or in particular instances, supersedes the ordinary mode, then the exercise of this extraordinary agency is not only possible, but highly probable. Now the Christian believes that God had such ends, in regard to his creatures, and that such a condition of things did occur. It is usual, even among enlightened advocates for miracles, to speak of this extraordinary agency of God, as an interruption of the order of nature. We would not cavil at words, but cannot but think there is an infelicity of expression in the use of this term. Miracles are no *interruption* in the course

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of God's agency in the affairs of men, but simply a *higher mode* of the Divine agency, which is intended to subserve higher and diviner purposes than can be effected by its ordinary exercise, or by the, so called, order of nature.

The antecedent objection to the credibility of miracles is thus narrowed down to this point; did there exist a condition of human affairs, an emergency, so to speak, in the moral providence of God, that rendered this higher, or miraculous manifestation of himself and his will important or necessary? In the same degree that this can be shown to be the fact, in that same degree miracles become, not merely less improbable, but more and more absolutely probable. Did then such an emergency, in point of fact, exist? Dr. Palfrey, in his third Lecture, addresses himself to answer this question, and shows conclusively, and with great richness and power of thought, that such a need of a Divine interposition did exist, at the alleged period of the promulgation of Christianity; since a special revelation of religious truth was *needed*; that it was needed *then*, and that *Christianity* was the revelation that was needed. To the illustration of these points, as contained in the Lecture, we must commend our readers, since we could only insert here a sterile summary, which would be equally unsatisfactory to them, and unjust to the claims of the learned and eloquent Lecturer.

Having thus entirely disposed of this antecedent objection, the author proceeds, in five subsequent Lectures, to a statement of the positive testimony in support of the facts of Christianity. For the reason just assigned we can offer no detailed account of this. It must suffice to say that it gives, in a very condensed form, a clear, satisfactory and decisive answer to the following inquiries: Who are the witnesses? Have we their testimony in a trustworthy form? Have they told the truth? These topics obviously cover the whole ground. And if the witnesses are unexceptionable in regard to their character, knowledge of the subject, and freedom from all improper biases; if we have the testimony ascribed to them substantially in their own words, without addition or mutilation; and if they told the simple truth, being neither deceivers nor self-deceived; then the inference is inevitable, that they are credible witnesses, and the narratives of the New Testament are true, and that, there-

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fore the religion of Jesus Christ is what it purports to be, a divinely inspired revelation of truth and duty from God to man.

Having thus presented the direct argument in support of Christianity, the Lecturer proceeds to an examination of the objections which have been raised against it, from the time of its promulgation to the present day. This is obviously appropriate, and is necessary to a full and fair view of the subject. "Audi alteram partem," hear, weigh, appreciate, allow full value to the adverse argument, is but common justice; and yet a faithful compliance with the rule is a very uncommon thing in practice. The opinions of most men, and of those too, who mean to deal fairly with their own minds and the minds of others, if traced to their elementary principles, will often be found to have resulted not only from a one-sided view of the subject in question, but from a few salient points, it may be, of a part of it, which, on account of certain unessential circumstances or mental idiosyncracies, have arrested their attention. But this remark applies not to the opinions of the author before us. On the contrary, the candor and comprehensiveness of his views are among the most delightful traits of his volumes. It is easy, however, to see, in reference to the part of the inquiry before us, that any plan which might have been adopted to place before his audience the whole breadth of the infidel argument, must be liable to objection. The one which he has chosen, that of passing in review *chronologically* the exceptions which have been brought against Christianity, together with the peculiar opinions and a biographical sketch of some prominent individual taken as a representative of them, has necessarily led to a minuteness of discussion, to an occasional introduction of irrelevant matter, and, especially, to a reference forwards and backwards, which, as it seems to us, is infelicitous in a popular address to a large and mixed audience. We should have preferred to it a single philosophical history of infidel opinions, with such a brief reference to particular authors with whom they are identified, as would serve as a guide to any who might wish to follow the subject into its details. This arrangement, too, would have enabled the author to place in one connected series all the important objections

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which have ever been made against Christianity, while, at the same time, he might avoid a repetition of the same or similar objections, and that occasional introduction of extraneous matter, which a chronological statement of the opinions of prominent individuals necessarily involved. By this course of proceeding, also, greater prominence would have been given to the now generally unsuspected fact, that these objections are extremely lean and poor and few, and derive their apparent substance and weight from the circumstance of having been repeated over and over again, with small change of statement and illustration. It is, indeed, especially worthy of note, as the author intimates, that these objections have ever moved in cycles, so that what has at one period attracted attention, been examined, refuted, and, as it would seem, laid quietly at rest, henceforth and forever more, among forgotten things, is yet not put away beyond the process of a resurrection; but is capable of being revived, brought back again to a transient existence, and even hailed, by those who know no better, as something novel and important. This remark has often been suggested to us within a few years. In listening to certain discourses, and in reading quite sizable books which impugn an "historical Christianity," and the authoritative character of its Founder, we seemed to have been transferred to the almost forgotten studies of former years, and to find ourselves again employed with the objections of Herbert and Woolston, and especially of Thomas Morgan.

To illustrate yet further, but in a few words, our idea of the plan which we should prefer, we may take, as an example, the objections brought by the Jews against Christianity. All that is essential and peculiar to these, seems to be comprehended in the disparity which they alleged to exist between the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and particularly between the Messiah expected by the Jews and the Christian Messiah. This, as we learn from the Lectures before us, appeared in the well-known "Dialogue with Trypho," the Jew, in the second century; again, among the Tracts of Wagenseil, entitled, "Tela Ignea Satanæ," referred to the twelfth century; again, in the "Bulwark of Faith," in the fifteenth century; again, in the "Friendly Conference with a Learned Jew," between Lim-

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borch and Orobio in the seventeenth century; again, in the more recent controversy between Dr. Priestley and the Rabbi Levi; and again it is, as we all know, at this day, the objection which, all over the earth, alienates the Jew from the Christian. Now "we submit," whether in the conduct of the argument before us, it had not been preferable to have taken up this main objection, and dealt with it according to its deserts, with such short and direct references as might be deemed necessary to sustain the position taken, which, we think, might have been done in the tenth part of the space now occupied; rather than to have gone into the not particularly interesting detail of the long Dialogue between Justin and Trypho, and the exceeding nonsense of the "Toledoth Jeshu." This objection, however, it is but just to say, if it have any weight, lies principally against the plan of the Lectures, considered as prepared for oral delivery. In the form in which we now possess them, it is of less importance, since if attention wanders or tires amidst details to-day, it may be renewed and refreshed to-morrow; and the true meaning and accuracy of references may be tested by a recurrence to the printed page. And sorry, indeed, should we be to part on almost any terms, with those rapid, brief, sketchy, yet strikingly accurate, discriminative and life-like delineations of eminent unbelievers, which introduce the criticisms on their peculiar opinions.

The limits to which we are restricted in this paper allow of no detailed account of these remaining Lectures; and embracing, as they do, a vast field of inquiry, any summary we could now give of them would amount to little more than a barren list of topics. We refer our readers to them as presenting a beautiful specimen of "calm frankness," and "unreserved candor," in the expression of the author's own opinions; of a fair and full appreciation of opposing arguments; of clear triumphant logic; and as showing to what a frothy, worthless residuum the most popular infidel objections are reduced when subjected to a searching analysis. To Dr. Palfrey, more than to any other single author, we owe this conviction. A general impression of it had long rested upon our minds, but we were not at all aware, before we learned it from him, how singularly insignificant the exceptions to Christianity really

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are, when stripped of adventitious circumstances; how much of their seeming bulk they owe to almost endless repetition and vague declamation; how much of their speciousness is derived from a cunning sophistry; and how much of their point is furnished by wit, scoffs, sneers and ribaldry. In the hope of rendering this yet more apparent, we propose to set in order, in the briefest statement possible, and without the embarrassment of chronological and biographical details, what we deem to be the essential elements of unbelief, as they have appeared in the different ages of the world since the Christian era. In attempting this philosophical sketch of infidel opinion, we shall freely use, though not confine ourselves to the rich resources of the Lectures before us, and shall intentionally leave nothing unnoticed that any tolerably sensible objector would deem to be of any importance.

1. The first objection to Christianity in the order of time, and one of the most important in its bearings, arose from the peculiar religious faith and modes of thinking which prevailed among the people to whom it was first made known, the Jews. It is that to which we have already incidentally referred, and resolves itself into an irreconcilable discrepancy which is alleged to exist between the sacred books of the Old Testament, and the religion of Jesus as contained in the Christian record, and especially between his character and condition as described in the Gospels, and the Messiah who was and is the long cherished hope of the Jewish people. This was urged by Celsus, in the assumed character of a Jew, in the second century, it has been reiterated by the Jews in all ages, it was repeated by the emperor Julian in the fourth, and by Anthony Collins in the eighteenth, and by George B. English in the nineteenth centuries.

The objections of the Pagans were these: —

2. Christianity addresses itself to the low, ignorant and mean. This was urged by Celsus; and while it is proper to notice it as an objection, it is obviously nothing but abuse, and not an argument.

3. Christianity is but a republication of old truths. This was first alleged by Celsus, has been repeated by various others with different degrees of ingenuity and force, found its most powerful advocate in Thomas Morgan, and

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is palpably seen, through a thin veil of Christianity which is thrown over it, in certain writings of our own time and country.

4. The books of the New Testament abound with inconsistencies, discrepancies and contradictions. This is alleged by Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, and also in the eighteenth century by Woolston, Voltaire, and Paine.

5. The low birth and condition and ignominious death of Jesus, are irreconcilable with his high claims. This also is an objection of Celsus.

6. The early Christians are charged with the reproach of being dissolute and abandoned in their manner of life, by Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian.

7. Christ performed his miracles by means of secret magical and demoniacal arts which he learned in Egypt, as is alleged by Celsus and Porphyry.

8. The late and restricted publication of Christianity was urged as an objection, and seemingly thought by Porphyry and Julian to be a valid one. It was repeated by Lord Bolingbroke in the last half of the eighteenth century.

9. Works like those of Jesus were performed by others, particularly by Apollonius of Tyana (related by Philostratus in the early part of the third century, and urged by Hierocles in the beginning of the fourth,) to whom no miraculous character was ascribed.

This is the substance of all that the heathen adversaries alleged against Christianity during the four centuries immediately succeeding its promulgation. They were among the most acute, learned and intelligent men of their time, and have not been surpassed by any of later periods in deadly hostility to the scheme they opposed. Julian, who particularly signalized himself by the bitterness of his revilings, was a royal author, and could wield the whole resources of the Roman empire in collecting objections and preparing his case against Christianity. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that what could be offered on their side of the question, was adduced; and it is equally reasonable to infer, that what they did not allege against Christianity *could not* be alleged. In a word, we have before us the whole strength and the whole weakness of the Pagan argument against Christianity, for the first four centuries of the Christian era. What its real value is, may be seen in

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the above summary. It is obvious that with the exception of three, or at most four of these, namely, that of supposed discrepancies between the books and the religions of the Jews and Christians; that Christianity contains nothing new; that its records abound in inconsistencies and contradictions; and that it is too late in its advent, and too local in its scope, to answer to its claims; all the rest is mere assertion, cavil and abuse. And how triumphantly these seeming objections may be refuted, has been shown a hundred times over, and is admirably illustrated in the volumes before us.

But we cannot part here with these early adversaries of Christianity. They have conferred on us too important benefits to be thus summarily disposed of. We claim them as our best, because they are at the same time unconscious and unwilling, witnesses in support of all that is vitally important in the question before us, namely, first, the leading facts on which Christianity is based, and second, the authenticity of the records which contain them. These essential points, which, it is obvious, if established, carry the truth of the religion along with them, these witnesses against Christianity prove both negatively and positively. They prove them *negatively*, because they do not deny them, when from the nature of the case they would have denied them if they could; and that they did not deny them, is only to be accounted for on the ground that they were too well ascertained, and too notorious, to be either denied or questioned. We do not know that we can add anything to the strength of this position by a more minute statement, but a few remarks may serve to illustrate it. The facts then on which Christianity was based, and the record which contained them, these writers were familiarly acquainted with, for, as we shall soon see, they admitted the one and referred to the other. Why did they not attempt to invalidate the former and deny the authenticity of the latter? This was obviously the natural and direct course of proceeding; and success in either attempt, as men intelligent and adroit as they were must have seen, would have been fatal to the whole scheme of Christianity. Their intense hatred against it must have supplied them with the strongest motive to do so. "Furor arma ministrat." They lived at a period of the world when all the facts in the case were

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easily accessible, and when from their position, learning and resources, every species of evidence in regard to the truth of Christianity was at their disposal. Why then did they not at once strike at the very basis of this hated religion by denying its alleged facts, and the authenticity of the record which contains them? But, in truth, they never ventured to impugn or call in question either. They left this to such men as Bolingbroke, and Volney, and Paine, who lived more than fifteen hundred years after the promulgation of Christianity. And why did they not attempt this? Is there any assignable reason, but that they could not hope to do so with any prospect of success? The facts were too stubborn to be gainsaid; the record was too well authenticated to be called in question; and this negative proceeding of theirs is to be taken, according to all rules of fair argumentation, as a virtual and an unquestionable, because an unwilling admission of both.

But further, we have their *positive* evidence to the same effect. This is amply shown in the Lectures before us; and the result to which the learned, accurate and thoroughgoing Lardner has arrived, is as follows: "But among the testimonies to Christianity which we have met with in the first ages, none are more valuable and important than the testimonies of those learned philosophers who wrote against us. All know who I mean; Celsus in the second century; Porphyry and Hierocles, and the anonymous philosopher of Lactantius in the third, and Julian in the fourth centuries. These may be seemingly against us, but are really for us." * * "They bear a fuller and more valuable testimony to the books of the New Testament, and to the facts of the evangelical history, and to the affairs of the Christians, than all our other witnesses besides." * * "These works, composed and published in the early days of Christianity, are now a testimony in our favor, and will be of use in the defence of Christianity to the latest ages." * * "Their writings show that those very books, and not any others now generally called apocryphal, are the books which always were in highest repute with Christians, and were then the rule of their faith, as they are now of ours."*

* Testimonies of Ancient Heathens. Vol. viii. p. 162. 8vo Edit.

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In following down the history of infidel opinion, we must pass over the interval of twelve centuries. It cannot be doubted, from the circumstances of the case, that the evidences of Christianity were often called in question during this long period. The errors and superstitions and enormities which had been connected with the pure faith; the habits of hair-splitting disputation which prevailed; the doubting and caviling spirit of the reigning philosophy of the period; the devotion of all the scholarship which then existed to the ancient classics; must have given rise to much speculative doubt. But the iron rule of the Church, together with the alliance she took care to form with all the learning and intelligence of the times, forbade the outright expression of it. But after the period of the Protestant Reformation the objections of infidelity were renewed, and have been carried on, without intermission, even to the present day. It has been said, that very little that is new has been added to the infidel argument since the days of the emperor Julian. But it is obvious to those who are familiar with the whole subject, and are not willing to sacrifice accuracy to a striking statement, that the whole ground of the argument has been changed since Julian's time, or rather since the time of Porphyry, for Julian added little or nothing of his own to the objections which were furnished to his hand by Celsus and Porphyry. We now proceed to state, very briefly, those objections to Christianity which were not particularly adverted to by its Pagan opposers.

10. The *a priori* objection of deists against Christianity; that is, the argument which is intended to show, not that such a religion has not been supernaturally communicated, but that it is unreasonable to suppose that such a communication would be made. This was urged with great sincerity and seriousness, in the early part of the seventeenth century, by Lord Herbert, and with vivacity and adroitness by Matthew Tindal, about a century later. Bolingbroke and Voltaire availed themselves of parts of their writings. We cannot quote this argument in detail, and must content ourselves with referring to the searching examination of it in the fifteenth and sixteenth Lectures of Dr. Palfrey.

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11. Denial of the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospel records: maintained by Bolingbroke, Voltaire, Paine.

12. Some doctrines of the Gospel are unworthy of their alleged Divine original: asserted by Bolingbroke.

13. The ethical system of the New Testament is imperfect and erroneous: asserted by Bolingbroke, Hume, Voltaire, and indirectly urged by Shaftsbury.

14. The sense of the Gospels is often uncertain: asserted by Bolingbroke.

15. The religious systems of Jesus and of Paul are at variance: asserted by Bolingbroke.

16. Christianity adopts and endorses, and thereby renders itself responsible for, much that is false and absurd in the Scriptures of the Old Testament: asserted by Bolingbroke, Collins, Voltaire, Paine.

This is undoubtedly, at the present day, one of the few serious objections that demand a thorough examination. It is no part of our plan in this enumeration to suggest any replies to the objections we cite, but we cannot pass this without bearing our testimony to the accuracy and thorough scholarship with which Dr. Palfrey, in his eighteenth and twenty-second Lectures, condenses the former replies which have been made to it; and the manliness, candor, clearness, and power, and we will add, the high sense of duty and the calm dignity, with which he states his own.

17. Writings ascribed to Christ and his apostles were readily received and approved in their times, which are now known to be supposititious, which circumstance must throw doubt on the genuineness of the canonical writings of the New Testament: asserted by Toland and Voltaire.

18. All moral and religious truth shines by its own light, is only to be received by the human mind on this evidence, and does not need, and does not admit of the attestation of miracles, or "historical" testimony, or external evidence of any kind: asserted by Morgan, who is the great authority on the subject, repeated by Rousseau, by the "Naturalists" of Germany, and by some recent American writers.

19. Miracles cannot be relied upon as proving the truth of a revelation, since those who are once endowed with the power of working them, may use it according to their own

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volitions, and may, therefore, employ it for the furtherance of falsehood as well as of truth; asserted by Chubb.

20. There can be no connection between the power of working miracles and the truth of doctrines taught by the miracle workers; miracles alone considered, can prove nothing at all, and ought to have no weight or influence with any body: asserted by Morgan, and substantially by some in our own day.

21. Miracles cannot be proved by testimony, since there is an antecedent objection to them which no testimony can overcome: asserted by Hume and Voltaire.

22. Miracles, in point of fact, are not supported by any sufficient evidence: asserted by Hume, Voltaire, Paine, Volney.

23. The history of the miracles of Jesus as recorded by the Evangelists implies "absurdities, improbabilities and incredibilities," and therefore they were never wrought, and the accounts are, in consequence, only to be taken as "prophetical and parabolical narratives of what would be more mysteriously and more wonderfully done by him:" asserted by Woolston, adopted partially by Kant.

24. The circumstances of the propagation and early spread of Christianity may be wholly accounted for by merely natural causes: asserted by Gibbon and Voltaire. This, though an objection against one of the proofs of the Divine origin of Christianity, and not a distinct objection to Christianity itself, we have thought best, on account of the place it has been made to occupy in the discussions of the subject, not wholly to pass by in this enumeration.

25. It is incredible to suppose that such a being as God, amidst his cares of universal empire, should charge himself with such a scheme for man's benefit, as is related in the Gospels: asserted by Paine. This objection, if it have any weight, is obviously levelled against certain views of the redemption of the world from sin and its consequences, with which we have small concern, believing as we do, that they make no part of the Gospel. In the only sense in which it has any important meaning, it should suggest, not distrust, but an outbreak of gratitude and veneration like that of the Psalmist: "What is man, that thou art mindful of him; and the son of man, that thou visitest him?"

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26. The whole scheme of Christianity, so like that of all other religions, is simply an allegory; Jesus Christ had no existence; he is but one of the impersonations of the material sun; the resurrection of Jesus from the grave is only a typical representation of the return of the sun at the vernal equinox: asserted by Dupuis and Volney. We would commend to their followers, if they have any, that beautiful piece of grave irony by Archbishop Whately, entitled "Historic Doubts concerning the Existence of Napoleon Bonaparte."

27. Christianity, like every other form of religion, is but a trick of priestcraft to aid selfish purposes, subvert human rights, and establish despotism: asserted by Voltaire and Volney.

28. The numerous and irreconcilable divisions and disputes among the clergy, and their followers, show the utter uncertainty of the Christian religion, and the impossibility of attaining from its advocates any truth: asserted by Collins and Volney.

29. The characters of Christ and his Apostles lie open to grave exceptions: insinuated by Collins.

30. Christianity is destitute of all proof and evidence, and has absolutely nothing to support it, but a wild and senseless enthusiasm; its records are but "paper revelations," "manuscript authorities," and a "dead letter:" asserted in an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "Christianity not founded on Argument," published in London, 1742.

31. The resurrection of Christ from the grave was not predicted, nor did it, in fact, take place; and if it were a real occurrence, it would be no proof of the truth of the Christian religion. Different parts of the above propositions are asserted by Celsus and Woolston, and especially in a pamphlet written in answer to the celebrated "Trial of the Witnesses," entitled "The Resurrection of Christ Considered," which appeared in London, 1744.

32. Limited reception and prevalence of Christianity, at its promulgation and in its early history: asserted by Bolingbroke and Voltaire.

33. The scheme of Jesus essentially a plan for his self-aggrandizement: asserted in the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments."

34. The Christian miracles are discredited by the fact,

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that the same sort of miraculous attestation is claimed for all other forms of religion, as for example, those of ancient Rome, Turkey and China; which Christians themselves reject as false: asserted by Hume, Gibbon, Strauss. The same kind of argument is derived, by Volney and Strauss, from the various and irreconcilable religious creeds that have been received at different times in different parts of the world.

35. The whole history of Jesus Christ is a "myth," or an imaginative amplification of certain vague and slender traditions, whose real origin is lost in obscurity: asserted by Strauss.

36. Everything in the history of Jesus that is supernatural, is to be resolved into the false perceptions, and erroneous opinions, and inferences of the narrators, who were honest, but credulous men, and wholly mistook and misinterpreted the evidence of all their senses: asserted by Paulus and the Naturalists or Rationalists of Germany.

We close our epitome of the objections which have been levelled against Christianity here. No reference has been made to the opinions of the French Encyclopædists, Diderot, Helvetius, D'Alembert, Holbach, and their numerous followers, since our immediate concern is with the objections against Christianity especially, and not with that downright Atheism of which this class of writers were the notorious expositors. For a similar reason we pass by the results of that virtual Atheism, which is but a form of the old Oriental Pantheism, which has, of late years, been revived, and become, under the auspices of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and others, the "public secret" of "young Germany," and which has found an indirect advocate in their pupil, Cousin, in France. Nor do we profess, in the brief synopsis of the objections above given, to have included everything that has been urged against Christianity; since, while it includes many that are sufficiently trivial, there are others which seem to us too utterly frivolous to be gravely written down. We suppose, however, it will be found, by those who are qualified to judge on the subject, to comprise all that has been urged, at any time, which is, in any degree, material to the infidel argument. And if it does, it will be seen at a glance, how

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comparatively feeble and inconsequential this really is, when thus resolved into its elementary principles; how much it owes to repetition and amplification, and reproduction, with only slight changes of arrangement and illustration. It has not, like those evidences which it assails, flowed downward through the ages, in a continuous stream, which arising from a little head-spring at first, has been continually gathering strength from tributary waters running in on either side as it passes along, until it now sweeps on in one noble and resistless flood; but it has been transmitted to us rather in a series of *decantations* from one mind to another, only varied in their transmission by the peculiarities of the medium through which they have passed. This is especially true of the objections which have been made since the period of the Reformation. Thus even Voltaire, the great heresiarch of the eighteenth century in France, and the Napoleon of the French mind of his time, did little else than "popularize" the topics of Infidelity which he derived from the soberer English unbelievers, by the addition of jests, scoffs, banterings, insinuations, inuendoes and reckless misrepresentations. It is no part of our present object to offer any refutation of these objections. All who are tolerably versed in such an inquiry will find, as they read them, a running commentary springing up in their own minds, which will render any elaborate reply unnecessary; and will come away from the perusal with a mingled feeling of profound astonishment and regret, that any should make shipwreck of their faith on such narrow ground as this. If any seek further light, we refer them, with confidence, to the learned volumes before us, as containing a virtual, if not an express refutation of every seeming objection.

With a brief reference to the style, and general character of the Lectures, we shall close this notice. In regard to the former, we are constrained to say, we miss, occasionally, that perspicuity of expression, which, as through a clear medium, presents a distinct thought, without distortion, in a sharp outline, and in its true coloring to the mind. But this occasional involution of phrase seems to us to arise, not from any obscurity in the writer's mind, since few persons think more clearly and consequently than he, but rather from a rush of affiliated thoughts, and from a con-

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scientious desire to present his precise meaning with a perfect accuracy. "In vitium ducit culpæ fuga." But with this exception, his style is singularly pure, flexible, and idiomatic. Sometimes, as when he is ferreting out a sophism, or cross-examining an unwilling witness, it becomes singularly close, pithy and pointed. On topics which admit of a wide range of remark, and which though not absolutely essential to his argument, are yet appropriately scattered through his volumes, he displays an affluence and beauty of illustration, that stand out in striking relief, as contrasted with the strict logical precision that generally characterizes the work. And when his subject leads him to speak on themes of highest import, as for example, at the close of the Lecture on the "Theory and Uses of Natural Religion," he rises into a strain of ornate and moving eloquence.

But the great merit of the work consists in the substance of it; in the calmness, frankness, and candor with which its all-concerning inquiries are treated; in the learning, acuteness, and comprehensiveness which it discovers throughout; in its earnest, straight-forward, and business-like character; and in the power, efficacy, and conclusiveness with which the argument is conducted. We know not where, in the whole range of English theological literature, to find any single volume on the Evidences of Christianity, which, in all these traits, can be put in favorable comparison with this. There are few Christian men, whatever be their familiarity with the subject, that can read these volumes without finding their minds enriched with new and valuable truth, their belief strengthened, and a bright light revealed for those dark and dubious states of mind, from which few earnest thinkers are wholly free. And those who are so unhappy as to want a clear, serene, solid, sufficing Christian faith, that ineffable blessing of God to the human soul, should not, for an instant, rest satisfied with their forlorn and disastrous state, until they have read, pondered and thoroughly digested the Christian argument as it is presented in the masterly advocacy of these Lectures. We are told that the reception of them by the public has given small sanction to this, we are aware, high eulogium. But while we regret the fact, it only renders us the more solicitous to record here our sincere, however humble and unavailing, tribute to their worth. J. B.

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Art. VII. — SONNETS.

THE SNOW.

It will not stay; — the robe so pearly white
That fell in folds on nature's bosom bare,
And sparkled in the winter moonbeam's light,
A vesture such as holy spirits wear,
It will not stay! Look how from th' open plain
It melts beneath the glance of April's sun,
Nor can the rock's cool shade the snow detain;
It feeds the rills that down the hill-side run.
Why should it linger? Many-tinted flowers
And the green grass its place will quickly fill,
And, with new life from sun and kindly showers,
With beauty clothe the meadow and the hill;
Till we regret to see the earth resume
This snowy mantle for her robe of bloom.

GOD'S HOST.

There is an order in our daily life,
Like that the holy angels constant keep;
And though its outward form seem but a strife,
There dwells within a calm as ocean's deep.
The forms that meet you in the house and street,
Brushing with their rough coats your shining dress,
Did they in their own robes and features greet,
Would seem like angels that the world possess;
And thou, like Jacob when from Galeed's heap
He journied on unto the land of Seir,
And sware with Laban vows of peace to keep,
By Abraham's God and by his father's Fear,
Wouldst cry aloud, in dread and wonder lost,
"This is the house of God! and these I see God's host!"

J. V.

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ART. VIII. — AMERICAN POEMS.*

IT is somewhat difficult to acquire literary distinction, where all are well informed, and almost every body writes. When learning was less generally diffused than now, and the treasures of science were open to few, it was comparatively easy to acquire celebrity of some sort as a writer. To make a book then, implied in itself some distinction, and the very name of "author" carried a dignity with it. Even a small light threw its rays to a great distance. It shone like a taper from the cottage window, bright from the surrounding darkness, and from its being the only light amid the waste.

But all this is now changed. In the throng which now crowds the avenues of learning, how many must fall exhausted before they reach that giddy height, which is to raise them above their fellows, and from which a single glance abroad is sufficient to show them the uncertainty of their foothold. Patience, industry, and courage must unite to sustain in his wearisome journey the worshipper, who, if we may use the old phraseology, would lay an acceptable offering on the shrine of so severe, and yet so capricious a goddess as Fame. If he would succeed, he must press on without heeding the scoffs and jeers of the many voices that would make him look back in his course. However fatigued, he must not turn aside, even for a moment,

> "To brush from off his sandal'd feet
> The dust of life's hot way."

The "calamities of authors" have been sung for ages; yet the cry is, "still they come." They continue to press on in their serried ranks, as if they marched only to victory, and every footfall was not on the broken hearts of those who had preceded them.

It would be less discouraging to the candidate for literary distinction in this country, if he were obliged to encounter no other obstacles than those which naturally and

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* *The Daughter of the Isles, and other Poems.* By WILLIAM B. TAPPAN. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1844. 32mo. pp. 256.

Poetry of Feeling and Spiritual Melodies. By ISAAC F. SHEPARD. Boston: Lewis & Sampson. 1844. 32mo. pp. 128.

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properly belong to the path he has chosen. But the American writer has a foe which is peculiarly his own. It is English criticism. We are not disposed to become champions in the war which has been carried on with so much vigor on both sides of the Atlantic, regarding the claims of this country to a "national literature." We would not that the groves of Academus be converted into a battle field, for so only injury can come to the cause of letters. But the most rigid impartiality cannot, we think, fail to see, that the tribunal of English criticism, in its decisions upon the literary productions of this country, is severe and unjust, — that the same feeling is extended to our literature which is cherished towards our manufactures. They are both declared to be equally worthless, or if they have any merit, it is affirmed that it is stolen from England.

We should naturally look for more liberality in those who profess a love for letters. In mere money-making, the heat of competition might more readily excuse coarseness and prejudice. But the lover of learning has heretofore considered the world as his home. In the rudest ages the votaries of the Muses have looked upon each other as brethren. The "gentle science" was native to every soil, whether it sprang amid the frozen cliffs of the North, or the sunny valleys of the South. It acknowledged no geographical limits, knew nothing of national antipathies. Even amidst the carnage of battle, the "man of lore" was safe among his books. The ambition of Marcellus could bow to the science of Archimedes, and when Syracuse was carried by assault, a special order was issued to spare his life, though he was, at the very moment, engaged in constructing a machine to blow up the Roman fleet. It has been left to England alone to array the Muses in armor, and enrol them among the legions.

We do not think that we can be rightly accused of injustice in these remarks. But we readily admit that we Americans are unwise in attributing so much value to criticism flowing from a source so prejudiced as that to which we refer. We have yet to learn the first and great lesson, if we ever mean to acquire a reputation which is worth possessing in literature, that is, to think for ourselves. That over-weaning regard which is paid to foreign approbation, or censure, is not becoming a people, who have thus far

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thought and acted, in all other matters, for themselves. We have dared to throw off the yoke of political tyranny, why continue to wear that of literary servitude? It is quite time that the bulls and decrees of this literary Vatican should carry less terror with them; and that its excommunications and indulgences should not be considered as matters of life and death. If we cultivate a good taste and exercise a just criticism at home, we shall cease to look abroad for a true appreciation of ourselves. We shall not turn to the self-assumed infallibility of Foreign Quarterlies to learn what is gold and what is tinsel, what to admire and what to reject. The criterion of merit will no longer depend on the spleen, or caprice, or what is quite as frequent, the bad taste of English reviewers.

We would not be understood to say that candid criticism from the other side of the water is not desirable, — that they who speak the same language with ourselves, and have drawn inspiration from the same pure fountains, are not in a situation to instruct and guide us. We bow reverentially to those great minds, whose genius and learning adorn and elevate the human character. And we confess with humility, that we have many and weighty sins of a literary nature to repent of and reform. But our complaint is, that when we should have found the chastening hand of a mother, we have received only the unjust severity of a step-dame. We deny not that the general diffusion of education, and the multitude of academies and colleges throughout our country, have called forth aspirants to literary distinction, who might have been more profitably and appropriately engaged in turning a furrow than a period, in forging a ploughshare than in hammering out a poetical stanza. But even this misapplication of means to their proper ends has its advantages. We are accused of being a money-making people. We are called sordid and the worshippers of wealth. "A bag of dollars," it is said, "is a surer introduction to the 'best society,' than the highest literary reputation." If this be true, it is surely wise to cultivate any other spirit than that of gain. A nation of bad poets is preferable to a nation of misers, and for ourselves, unpleasant as the alternative might be, we should prefer the perpetrator of faulty verses, to the plodding votary of wealth, who carries his brains in his pockets, and has not a soul

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above his leger. We admit, however, that neither of these states of society is very desirable.

It is amusing to see the gravity with which we are charged with an entire want of taste in this country; and with what owl-like wisdom this is assigned as a reason why we have no poets of any merit. Public sentiment, it is said, is perpetually changing here, and nothing remains permanent for a sufficient length of time to give taste an opportunity to mature. It is true, we have changes, and the face of things is continually altering among us, like the figures in a magic lantern. But we would ask, whether in England, where the state of society is not thus mutable, a change in literary taste is not taking place daily; and whether she has any more claim to a fixed standard than we, or a more just rule by which to try the merits of a literary work. Is she not rapidly dooming to oblivion some who, a few years since, were her most popular writers? How many of her former idols are there, whose memories are now perpetuated only by their tombs in Westminster Abbey! To say nothing of lesser lights, what is the rank of Addison and Johnson, in the estimation of her present literati? And are not her fashionable critics condemning with little scruple her especial favorites, even of the present century? The fame of her Scott and her Byron still survives, but are they not regarded with a somewhat chastened admiration? And is not the same true of Mrs. Hemans, once pronounced the sweetest of poetical writers? Though she never attained the popularity in her own country which she attained here, yet there was a charm in her name; and what is left of her now, other than her immolated remains upon the altar of modern criticism? And how many years will probably pass away before the present favorites of the nation's fickle admiration, Tennyson, and others, share the fate of their predecessors?

We did not intend, when we began, to enter on a subject which has been so much better discussed by others, but we can scarcely take up a volume of American poetry at the present day, without adverting in our minds to the general tone of foreign criticism on American productions. Of the volumes, the titles of which are prefixed, it is not our purpose to enter into any minute criticism. Mr. Tappan's volume invites the eye by its clear type, and beauty of

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mechanical execution. It is made up of a collection of short pieces, many of them suggested by particular facts or incidents. Some of them may be called poems of the affections; some are hymns sung in churches, or elsewhere, on occasions of special interest; and in most, the religious character decidedly predominates. They are to be criticised, we suppose, as fugitive rhymes, with which the author has amused his leisure hours, or answered the call of his friends; and they require, as most will think, to be read with all the indulgence which such an origin may claim. They are written, generally, in a tone of simple and earnest feeling, and are marked by a gentle and humane spirit. We do not think them improved, however, by the occasional introduction of the technics of a sect; but to this, they, whose religious opinions coincide with those of the author, will probably not object. The poem, which gives a title to the volume, is short, consisting of only ten stanzas; and had not attention been drawn to it by the title-page, it would not, we think, have particularly attracted the notice of the reader. But every book must have a title, and this sounds pleasantly enough to the ear, and is somewhat inviting, and for this reason, no doubt, was selected. We should be unwilling to have the volume taken as a specimen by which American poetry is to be judged on the other side of the water.

There may be some better stanzas in the volume than the following from "Sweet out of Bitter," and there are many worse: —

"Sweet out of bitter God designed
For weary, wandering man;
And only he who is resigned
To God, fulfils the plan.

And he may see, that hath an eye,
Those purposes above,
Written on ocean, earth, and sky —
Wrought in the web of love.

Complex, indeed, the set of threads
That form the wondrous woof;
Yet light the Almighty toiler sheds
On work for our behoof.

He speaks to us — a veil between —
In language all unknown,

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Till Faith instructs — and then 't is seen
As lucid as his throne.

Yea, did we not on trial look
With unbelieving eyes,
'T would be to us a gracious book,
Perused with glad surprise.

* * * * *

When sounding our high harps, the chord
That best will quicken heaven,
Will be the anthem to our Lord,
For all earth's trials given.

And counting there the mercy gems,
Set here with skill divine —
While others fade, as diadems
How will these sorrows shine!" — pp. 19–21.

Every one has heard of the devoted labors of the early Roman Catholic Missionaries, who went forth in the love of the Cross, and many of whom belonged to the order of Jesuits. The following stanzas on the subject are as spirited as any in the volume: —

"The eager Jesuit pushed his way
Where heroes fear to go,
And reared Love's holy symbol high,
From Thibet to the howling sky
Of Huron's world of snow.

Regardless, or of tribe, or clan,
Or skin of red or white,
He saw mankind as brethren — sought
From barbarous, polished, and untaught,
To win his neophyte.

No tortures turned his step aside;
The tomahawk and knife,
The rifle-shot, the club, the stake,
But nerved his heart; they could not break
The purpose of his life." — pp. 82–83.

Mr. Tappan has published before; nor is the "Poetry of Feeling, and Spiritual Melodies," by Isaac F. Shepard, the first attempt of its author. "Four years since," as he tells us in his preface, "he freighted a little barque with 'Pebbles from Castalia,'" and sent it forth, "trembling," lest it should be shattered or sunk. But whatever adverse

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currents it has encountered, its fate has not been such as to discourage him from again spreading his canvas to the breeze. He goes with a light vessel, however, and if she founders, far richer freights have ere this been swallowed up by the ruthless deep. Seriously, we do not think that he has put on board any priceless gems. His little volume is fair enough to the eye, but better poetry is every day sinking into oblivion. His own estimate of its merits, qualified as it is, is sufficiently elevated. "Though he is sensible," he says, "that none of the higher elements of poetry — originality and power, either of thought or expression — can be claimed for him, he hopes that taste, beauty, and the simplicity of chaste adornment, may not be in vain looked for among these pages." The volume certainly contains none of the "higher elements of poetry," and very little, we think, of the beautiful. That is an epithet, in the use of which we are somewhat chary. Some quite pretty lines there may be, and no doubt are, in the volume, but they are entitled to no higher epithet. Good the writer is and kind-hearted, we can readily believe; — so, at least, we should infer from what he has written; and his lines breathe a pure and devout spirit, and may furnish very pleasant reading for acquaintances and friends; but he must be on his guard against their flatteries, and remember that much which may satisfy them, may not endure the ordeal of public criticism. We must give our readers a specimen, however, of what is found in the volume, and the following, on "Sabbath Evening," may be taken as a favorable one: —

"How beautiful! The fading light of day
Is lingering yet on forest, field and sea;
And now the temple's spire shines dazzlingly,
While parting sunbeams round its summits play,
As 't were a shaft of burnished gold! The lay
Of evening zephyrs comes upon the ear
So delicately soft, I think I hear
Some seraph-tones symphonious die away,
While nature chants her Sabbath vesper-hymn!
And now the red light fades; the skies are dim
Above the west; night's sable veils unrol,
And new-born stars the sleeping waters kiss!
Oh, be like this my closing day! like this
My final rest — the Sabbath of the soul!"

A. L.

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Art. IX. — PRESENT POSITION OF UNITARIANISM.

It is several years since a series of articles appeared in this journal,* exhibiting the actual state of our denomination. Those articles were at the time regarded by many as somewhat too unfavorable, or too *frank*, in the view which they presented. We remember, however, the satisfaction with which they were read by us on account of their honesty. We have never believed, and cannot believe, that either exaggeration or concealment is "good policy;" and when a writer undertakes to give his impressions respecting the state of things about him, to offer only the bright side of the picture, or to allow his hopes so to qualify his language as to make it reflect other than his real impressions, it is a want of rectitude for which we can find no apology in any conceivable "interests of the cause." Truth is the first condition of durable success, and is certainly the only title which a writer can urge to the confidence or respect of his readers.

In the lapse of time since the articles to which we refer were written, it might be expected that considerable changes would pass over the denomination to which we belong, leaving it more or less permanently affected. Such changes have been experienced, and we propose now to consider how and where they have left us; to inquire how far our strength as a denomination, whether considered internally or externally, has been impaired, or increased, within the last fifteen years. It is not so much a review of this period which we shall attempt, as a survey of our present position — the result, as this must of course be, of the influences which during that time have been acting upon us. Our judgment may be in fault, and our persuasions seem to others incorrect, but we shall endeavor to present them with entire honesty, as in looking upon what is about us we have wished to divest our minds of any false partialities. Such an occasional examination of the position we hold as a religious body we are prompted to take by a natural curiosity, and without it we can hardly understand the

* See "Letters" under the signature of "A Seeker," in the Christian Examiner, Vol. III., for 1826.

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duty which devolves upon us, either towards our opinions or towards the community.

Some of our readers, we are aware, dislike our assuming a distinct attitude as a denomination. Their dread of sectarianism is so great, that it pains them to hear such language as we have just used. The name, Unitarian, they regard with little favor, because it bears to their ears the sound of separation and strife. Agreement, not difference, is that which they are anxious to recognise among Christians. This extreme jealousy lest we should be betrayed into sectarianism, seems to us to be founded in misapprehension, and to lead to a disregard of manifest obligations. If by sectarianism be meant attachment to the principles which distinguish a sect, (and this is its proper meaning,) are there not two kinds of sectarianism; one indeed narrow and violent, but the other free from such qualities? Is there not a sectarianism which consists in preferring the opinions which it defends to all other opinions, because it believes that they alone are true, and therefore labors for their diffusion, but is candid and honorable in its treatment of those who entertain opposite opinions? Shall he be called sectarian in a bad sense, who having drawn his views of Christianity from a careful study of the Bible, esteems them above all other views and desires their prevalence in the community? Such sectarianism as this seems to us the legitimate consequence of an interest in the Gospel, and not to cherish it, would, with us, be a positive dereliction of duty. To have found, as we think, God's truth which he has sent to the world through his Son, to account it the means of human redemption and sanctification, to esteem it above all science and all wealth, and yet to feel no regret when what *must* be error, if our understanding of Scripture be the truth, is adopted and propagated on every side of us, or to say nothing and do nothing to check the spread of such error, is an exhibition of inconsistency of which it grieves us to see many good people giving an example. To love our interpretation of the Gospel, and hold it to be worth defending, call you this sectarianism? Let it go then by that name. We honor it, wherever it appears, whether in Catholic or Protestant, Episcopalian, Methodist or Unitarian. It was such sectarianism as this, that Paul showed, when he withstood Peter to the

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face, and which he afterwards gloried in remembering. To misrepresent an opponent's doctrine, to traduce his character, or persecute him in his social relations, is another thing, which we feel as little disposition as any one to commend.

'But sectarianism always takes this latter character,' we shall be told. 'It is dogmatic, harsh, bitter, and altogether mischievous.' It need not be so, is our reply. Men may love their own opinions without mutual unkindness. There is nothing in an intelligent preference of our construction of the Christian Scriptures, that need make us unjust to those who hold these Scriptures in equal reverence, though they construe them differently. Human passions may mingle a corrupt influence with every sentiment of the heart, but that an earnest attachment to our own views of religious truth must end in bigotry, malignity, and all the train of evils which are sometimes enumerated as the fruits of sectarianism, is an assertion so wholly gratuitous, so palpably incorrect, that we will not waste time in farther considering it.

After all, are we not raising a dispute about a word? And why shall we wax warm in defence of sectarianism, if it is the term alone, which others dislike? We wish we could believe that it is the use of a word only, which marks the difference between them and us. But we fear — nay, we know; who does not know? — that there are some who deny the propriety of direct efforts for the diffusion of opinions which distinguish one sect from another, and, in their desire for union among Christians, would, if possible, forget that all Christians do not think alike. Do not many, by their silence upon controverted points, their unwillingness to be numbered with a denomination, their oscillation to the other extreme from the dreaded indulgence of a partisan temper, actually throw power into the hands of those who inculcate opinions which these very persons regard as unscriptural? It is something more than a question about the meaning of words which comes before us in this connexion. It is a question about duty, a question of conduct and principle. We maintain that he who from conviction of its correctness adopts a particular exposition of the Christian doctrine — no matter what it be, or by how many or how few embraced — is bound to

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speak, at all proper times, in its defence, to become its avowed and committed advocate, and to do what he may, without a violation of those laws of justice and love which should control all human action, to bring others to entertain the same belief with himself. That this is duty seems to us deducible, by an obvious course of remark, from the simplest view that can be taken of our relations to truth and to our fellow-men.

This however may be admitted as the duty of the individual, and yet the necessity of his connecting himself with a sect be denied. 'What is the need, and what the use of denominations? Why may not all be content to call themselves Christians, and walk and work together in the way of life? Why have sects?' How can they be prevented, we might ask in return. What more natural, than that they who think alike should meet on the ground of their common agreement, and should not only cultivate pleasant sympathies, but adopt plans of co-operation? And all this, without any wrong feeling towards others who do not think with them, or a forgetfulness of the bonds which hold together the great brotherhood of Christian believers; but simply, because there must be a closer union where there are more points of approach. Sects are the legitimate offspring of faith and freedom. Where men are allowed to form their own opinions, and do form them, they will as naturally separate into denominations, as particles of matter placed under circumstances to obey the law of chemical affinities will arrange themselves according to that law. Sects, moreover, have been the occasion of much good. It indicates a disregard of one of the most familiar lessons of ecclesiastical history, to assert that sectarian organizations are altogether mischievous. Have they not "provoked one another to good works," as well as, at other times, or at the same time, to the exercise of an unchristian temper? Did not their suspicion, and their dread of one another conspire, for many ages, to prevent any serious corruption of the sacred records? And do they not now act favorably upon one another, by restraining the extravagance of dogmatic statement, into which each might be tempted to run, if it were not affected by the proximity of opinions held by other bodies of believers? We confess, that this last circumstance alone, would, in our judgment, render it a duty

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for the Unitarian denomination to preserve its distinct "form and pressure;" that it might soften the theology of other sects, as it undeniably has done in this part of the country, where its influence as a denomination has been most sensibly felt.

Still it is idle to discuss the propriety of our constituting a distinct denomination. That might have been an open question thirty years ago, but it is too late now to consider whether we will stand by ourselves or not. We have been driven into a sectarian position. We were compelled to take an attitude of self-defence, which at once made us a denomination. We *are* a denomination, and whether we, on the whole, like the fact, or mourn over it, we cannot help it. We may disavow all sectarian attachment and condemn all sectarian action, but unless we conceal our opinions, we shall be accounted members of the "sect everywhere spoken against;" and the refusal of any to acknowledge such membership will but dishearten their brethren in the faith, without placing those who are reluctant to bear a distinctive name in a more favorable or agreeable relation towards the rest of the community.

It happens that in this instance the name is a special offence to some. They are particularly anxious to avoid the title of Unitarian, and regret that it has obtained currency. Now we will not insist upon keeping this name, though we think it preferable to the title of Liberal, which is a favorite with many persons, and certainly less objectionable than such designations as express only the authority obtained by a human teacher. 'But why have any name,' it is said. First, for convenience sake; because in speaking of the divisions of the Christian Church, which divisions actually exist, and of which it is often necessary to speak, it is convenient to have a term that by common consent is accepted in the place of a tedious description or an ambiguous circumlocution. And next, because bear some name we must. Existing as a sect, and regarded by others as a sect, we cannot escape the necessity, which they will put upon us, of being called by some title that shall distinguish us from them. It was not of their own choice that the early disciples of Jesus were called Nazarenes; perhaps not of their choice, that they were styled Christians. They were compelled to take a name, by

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which they should be spoken about, as well as "spoken against." And so must we; and whether it be chosen by us, or be given to us, is not a question of grave moment, provided it be such a name as attaches no opprobrium to us and implies no injustice to others. Now Unitarian has become a common designation of our body; it is a name which we need not be ashamed to wear, and it involves no false imputation upon others; it denotes a fundamental as well as peculiar doctrine of our belief; and it would now be very difficult to substitute any other name in its place. For these reasons we wish it may be retained.

'It expresses a part of our belief,' it may be said, 'but not the whole; and therefore is an unsuitable designation. It does not denote what is now the essential difference between us and other sects.' Perhaps not. We are disposed to think it does not. A generation has passed away since this term came into use among us, and changes have come over the theology of the times. Then the question on which the controversy between us and other denominations turned, related to the unity of God and the deity of Christ. Now, we think, a yet more vital question is involved in our difference from the sects about us, namely, whether faith or character is the "one thing needful." They who preceded us in defending the cause of truth saw that this question really lay within the folds of the controversy, but their attention was drawn to topics nearer the surface. In the course of discussion we have penetrated beneath one after another of the forms under which a false principle has manifested its "shape and bearing," and have now reached the principle itself; which, adopting as its symbol the Scriptural phrase of "justification by faith," uses this phrase in a sense widely different from that which was intended by Paul in his vindication of the claims of Christianity over ritual institutions. What is the ground of salvation? Is it belief, or is it obedience? Does salvation come through "the merits of Christ," or through the righteousness which is the consequence of a hearty reception of his truth? Is the sinner forgiven in virtue of his reliance on Christ, or in virtue of his submission to Christ? This is the great question, the central, inmost, all-embracing, all-determining question of the controversy, which we are called, on behalf of a pure Gospel, and after the

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example of those honored men who have gone before us, to maintain with earnest and confident hearts. Never was the truth on a question of deeper import trusted to men. Never has a question arisen in the Christian Church, which penetrated farther into the very significance and worth of the Christian revelation. It does not now present itself for the first time; it has again and again rallied the hosts of truth and error on opposing sides. But never before has it appeared in a more distinct shape, or thrown on the defenders of a correct interpretation of the Gospel a more solemn responsibleness. On every side the voice of instruction, — in the Sunday School, in the pulpit, in the sick-chamber, in the printed tract and the elaborate volume, — affirms as Christian doctrine, (to borrow the pointed expression of another,) "that men are sinners by nature, and saints by faith." We maintain that it is *character* alone which can make men either sinners or saints, and therefore that it is character which Christianity regards as supremely important.

'The name Unitarian, however, does not direct attention to this as the vital difference between us and other portions of the Church.' In its original or etymological meaning it certainly does not, but words gradually drop or enlarge their original meaning, and acquire a sense suited to the new occasions for their use. If, in the development of opinion and the progress of controversy, such a change has passed over this name, it may still be used with a propriety equal to its convenience.

We are a sect, and we have a name. Perhaps more has been said than was necessary upon these points, but we have feared that unless we secured the concurrence of our readers in these introductory statements, the justice of our subsequent remarks might seem to them less clear than to us.

The position of Unitarianism as represented by our denomination; how far has it been affected by the history of the last ten or fifteen years, and what is it, in reference alike to our internal state and our external relations; these are the inquiries which we propose to answer. We have said, that considerable changes have been witnessed within this period; which, however, as we may be able to show, have neither impaired our resources nor destroyed our

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harmony. Changes, more or less serious, it was but reasonable to expect. The usual mutability of human things is nowhere seen more strikingly than in the history of the Christian Church; and two causes have co-operated to give a more than usual instability to our condition. One is the character of the times, the other the character of our fundamental principle of liberty. The times are full of change. Where can we look, and not see it? Opinion is no longer a placid lake, but the billowy ocean now throwing the sunlight from its uplifted wave, and now burying that wave in the depths of its heaving bosom. An eager, rash, and often profane inquiry considers everything a proper subject for its examination, while a spirit of discontent with what they have inherited from a past age prompts men to mistake the face of novelty for the aspect of truth. New ways of thinking, new turns of expression, new forms of politeness — or of rudeness, new modes of industry — or of idleness, new habits of life, are continually soliciting us to bestow on them our countenance. The public mind is kept in a state of agitation. Society has lost the element of repose which once belonged to it. Such is the temper of the age; it is the *movement* age of the world's history. Religious bodies must sympathize in this general uneasiness. They catch the tone of the times. They present new appearances, and adopt new modes of thought and action. We see this in every other denomination. Should we not expect to find it in our own? The consequence in other denominations is difference of opinion, secret distrust, open recrimination, actual schism. See the character of the age expressed in the disruption of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, and in the disunion of the Episcopal Church here and in England. We too must feel the effects of this universal tendency to change. If creeds and catechisms, articles and "orders" are insufficient barriers in its way, why should it be an occasion of surprise or anxiety that we have not been able to withstand its influence? Suppose that opinion has been seen among us overleaping the restraints of good sense, or that unkind words have passed between those who once stood shoulder to shoulder on the walls of Zion; has not every denomination in the land suffered in the same way, and suffered far more severely?

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Then we must take into account the action of that principle of liberty on which we insist as fundamental. We allow men to think for themselves, and encourage them to exercise their own powers of judgment. We throw them off from a reliance on the Church or the priesthood or the Confession of faith, upon their own responsibleness, in regard to doctrine as well as character. Now a liberty like this, in such a period of social agitation as that in which we live, must issue in some results which it may not be altogether pleasant to contemplate. Some persons will run into extravagance of speculation, and others be guilty of injudicious conduct. But these errors or excesses should not tempt us to relinquish the principle which we have adopted, nor make us distrustful of its value. It is still a sound principle, and one of the utmost importance to us in the position which we occupy.

The position which we occupy. This brings us to the point we have been so long approaching. What is our position; first, considered internally, or in reference to ourselves alone? We answer, it is a position of real harmony under some appearances of disagreement, which are every day diminishing. If we go back for a period of ten or twelve years, and follow down our history from that time, we discover four distinct movements, each of which diverted a considerable portion of sympathy from our common union, and may have seemed to lessen our mutual regard, but from neither of which need now be apprehended any serious inconvenience. The first we shall style the philanthropic movement, because it took the direction of those schemes of philanthropy which were brought into notice about the time which we have marked. The Temperance reformation then began its triumphant way; in the midst, however, of embarrassment and opposition. It drew to itself a large share of the active sympathy of every religious denomination, and of our body among the rest. As those who engaged in this cause became more interested in its success, or felt the necessity of devoting more time to its advancement, they were induced to withdraw, for this new object, some part of the zeal which they had manifested in behalf of Unitarianism. Another enterprise, originating, as its friends maintained, in the same spirit of Christian benevolence, soon arose, and excited a yet

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warmer interest in many who had been the strenuous supporters of our faith. We refer to the Anti-slavery cause, the merits of which it is no part of our present design to canvass. We wish only to notice its effect upon the unity of our denomination. This we must think was unfavorable. Nor has this unfavorable influence wholly ceased. Some who had in former years been among the most constant in their attendance upon our anniversaries or other meetings, and had taken a prominent part in our discussions, were now seen there more seldom, because they found a stronger attraction in assemblies for a different object. They too, concurred, by their silence at least, in the passage of resolutions by those assemblies, which cast reproach upon all who did not join the Abolitionists. That there may have been from these causes a diminution of cordiality, as there was certainly a decrease of co-operation, we shall not take upon ourselves to deny, since we believe that, for a time, both these consequences were realized. But of late, whether the change be in those of whom we have spoken or in their brethren or in both, any slight estrangement which may have taken place is disappearing before the expressions of a kinder feeling. The growth of this feeling will add strength to our denomination.

At a later date arose the transcendental movement, which more seriously affected the condition of Unitarianism among its friends and before its enemies. The progress of this movement we need not trace. It had a meteor-like rapidity; shooting up from the horizon in an indistinct brightness, which acquired a more definite outline, till it culminated in the blaze of the "Orphic Sayings," whose intensity of light blinded the eyes of common observers; whence it has since been declining, with a slower and more equal descent, to the point at which we may expect its harmless explosion. We speak of transcendentalism now in its popular sense, as one of the religious vagaries of the times. As a philosophical system, we would name it only with respect and a sense of the benefits which it has conferred upon intellectual and moral science. The transcendentalism which had an injurious effect upon Unitarianism resembled this system about as much as Tittlebat Titmouse M. P. resembled a British statesman. It was entitled to no respect, for it was a mere pretender, and like

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all pretenders, was foolish, pert, and troublesome. It captivated some young girls who have now grown into women and become ashamed of it, and it deluded some young men who we hope have already lived long enough to see their folly. For a season it certainly operated to our disadvantage. It made a noise, and took up attention which would have been better bestowed upon more serious matters. It frightened some people who cried out in alarm, and puzzled more who looked on and said nothing. But all this has passed by, and our mention of it is but the making up of yesterday's journal.

This singular manifestation of pompous crudity had some connection with the third movement which we notice, and to which we give the title of assailant. The two have been often confounded, as if they were substantially alike, but they are separated by a broad difference. In some cases indeed they were seen exerting a united action upon the mind which they seduced from truth, and now the one and now the other seemed to exercise the greater influence. But they were distinct in their character and their results. By the assailant movement we mean that attack upon the common foundations of faith, that depreciation of Christianity as a Divinely communicated and Divinely authenticated religion, which had its full expression in the "Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion."* Of the author of that work, personally, we can speak only in terms of high regard. We believe him to be a man of pure intentions, exemplary conduct and sincere piety; and we doubt not, that by one of those processes of mental chemistry by which ingredients that seem mutually destructive are combined in a safe result, he unites a tender reverence for Jesus with the denial of his authority and the rejection of his history. But of the "Discourse of Religion," and of other writings from the same pen, we must speak in terms of honest reprobation. In expressing such a judgment we are not influenced by a consideration of the harm which their author has done to our body. We look at the character of the writings. Yet he did us no slight harm. No other circumstance in the history of Unitarianism in this country has ever operated so much to its disadvantage, as

* Reviewed in the Christian Examiner for July, 1842.

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the promulgation, by one of its preachers, of opinions involving a denial of the miraculous origin of the Christian revelation. Continuing to exercise the ministry, from which, according to our view of ecclesiastical relations, it was not competent for any persons but those who had invited him into that office to remove him,* and thus holding a connexion altogether peculiar, but not wholly nominal, with our churches and their pastors, he was regarded, though most unjustly, as the representative of opinions extensively embraced in our denomination. That these opinions found some favor among us, is true. The mani-

* Great use has been made of the fact that no censure has ever been passed upon Mr. Parker by any act of our whole body, or of the association of ministers to which he belongs. That this fact should have been turned to the discredit of Unitarianism, by those whose difference from us in theological opinion seems to render them incapable of understanding the principles of our union, is what we were prepared to witness. But that in our own number should be found those who complain because Mr. Parker has not been publicly censured, does greatly surprise us. One of the first principles on which we have united, in opposition to the sects about us, is the denial of the right of any denomination to censure its members for mere opinion, or the expression of opinion. Mr. Parker, it is said, indeed, had ceased to be a member of our body, by his adoption of views which in effect separated him from every Christian denomination. But this was the very point in debate between his friends and those who accounted him an expounder of infidelity; and it would have been a gross violation of decency, for one of the parties in this dispute to have assumed that the point was settled, and then to have proceeded to act upon this assumption. We have neither hierarchy nor synod to arrange the difficulties of such a case, and serious as we felt them to be, we have never for a moment regretted our independence of such means of abating a heresy. Much has been said because the Boston Association of ministers did not expel Mr. Parker, or at least publish some disavowal of his opinions. But expulsion of a member for not thinking with his brethren, however wrong his way of thinking, and however pernicious the influence of his teaching may be in their eyes, is not an act which that association contemplate among their privileges or their duties; nor do they come together to draw up statements of belief, either for their own benefit or for the satisfaction of others. All that they could consistently do, was to express to Mr. Parker their individual views, and set before him in free and friendly conversation the inconsistency of his course in continuing to exercise the functions of a Christian minister while he rejected the main facts of the Christian Scriptures. And this they did. They had no authority to depose him from his place or cast him out from their company. They neither felt nor showed indifference in the case. They acted with firmness, and with justice alike to him and to themselves, to the cause of Christian truth and the cause of religious freedom. Others may see in this a proof of the wretched effects of Unitarianism, but we are willing that Unitarianism should stand or fall by the judgment which an unbiassed observer, who understood the merits of the case, should pass upon the course pursued towards Mr. Parker by his brethren.

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fest earnestness and unimpeachable character of their advocate, with his popular style of writing, drew to him much regard. Many persons were fascinated by what was to them the freshness and independence of his speculations, and others, before the true character of his system of Christianity was understood, thought it opened a way of escape from some difficulties which they had felt, without destroying the ground of their religious hopes. When, however, the results to which he was led by his method of treating the sacred records were fully unfolded, a revulsion on the part of many, if not most of them who had previously listened with a consenting admiration, was produced, and from that time the number of those who looked upon his earlier opinions with positive favor, or doubtful curiosity, sensibly decreased. By the bulk of our denomination, the views which pass under his name have always been regarded with marked disapprobation. As, however, some minds were for a season affected by their contagion, feelings of estrangement grew up between those who had walked in mutual esteem, and a serious breach seemed to have been made upon the integrity of our Communion. There is now, we conceive, very little sympathy with the author of the "Discourse" upon the points which have made his name notorious, and the apprehensions which were once felt are dissipated.

Last in the order of time has appeared what, in deference to the practice of its friends, we will call the spiritual movement. Several, both of our clergy and laity, desired a more positive expression of the spiritual life than they thought they discovered among us. They asked for more feeling, more sympathy, more interest in the religious condition of others, more social religious exercises, and more of what by a somewhat narrow use of the term was denominated *life*. Complaints of the coldness and inefficiency of Unitarianism became frequent, and measures were taken to give it at once more fervor and more force. Of the wisdom of some of these measures, doubts, we think, might be reasonably entertained; and in regard to the value of the tests by which the presence of a Divine life in the soul was ascertained, we should not entirely concur with the persons to whom we allude. A fondness was betrayed for methods practised by other sects, which

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when transferred to our soil, could flourish only as exotics. When, too, phrases, which had been generally considered descriptive of doctrines which we reject, began to find favor with some of our people, one might have been pardoned for the indulgence of a fear that our theology was undergoing a change. If there was for a time some misunderstanding of the purpose which the friends of this movement had at heart, and some harshness of feeling perhaps in consequence, and if, on the other hand, they were needlessly sensitive to remark and jealous of any appearence of an attempt to control their freedom of action, such temporary disturbance of kind fellowship was natural. There is a better understanding, and a better feeling, we are confident, now than there was a year ago. The demand for a more decisive exhibition of the influence of our faith implies no wish for a modification of its principles, and the greater zeal of those who make this demand will awaken new energy where there may have been too quiet a contentment.

We have reviewed the history of our internal state for the last few years with a frankness which may surprise some readers, but we have wished the whole truth to appear, that our conclusion might be justified to others as well as ourselves. This conclusion is one in which it is pleasant to rest. We have seen that elements of disunion have existed among us. In other denominations they would have produced discord and permanent loss of strength. Our experience has been different. We have passed through these trials, and are still a united body — united by the very principles which have occasioned temporary anxieties. Other occasions of disturbance in our body, besides those which have now been noticed, have arisen, but we have selected these, both as being most worthy of remark, and as illustrating our unity as a denomination. That unity rests neither on prescription, conventionalism, nor forced submission to hierarchical control; it has its foundation neither in dogmatism nor in policy; but in the intelligent reception of the great truths of Christianity, and in a recognition of that diversity under agreement, which other Communions by attempting to conceal convert into a secret, and often fatal weakness. With us substantial agreement and acknowledged difference become the supports of a solid and durable unity.

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We had intended in this article to consider our position in its external character, or as it appears to an observer of outward relations, and should have preferred to include our whole survey of the present state of our denomination in one article; but a due regard to the space we may allow ourselves in the present number, compels us to defer what remains to be said. E. S. G.

Art. X. — COMMON SCHOOLS.*

Ever since the establishment of the Massachusetts Board of Education, we have watched its operations with the greatest possible interest. The Board itself we regard as the natural, and almost necessary fruit of the genius and institutions of the State. The people of Massachusetts have, from the commencement of their existence, felt, in an unexampled degree, the importance of the education of their children. With a barren soil, a six months' winter, an inhospitable climate, a limited territory, they have clearly seen that their only dependence, for comforts at home and respectability abroad, was on their intelligence, industry and energy; that these were the only internal resources to be relied upon; and that these could only be developed by competent teachers. The condition of the Common Schools has therefore, from first to last, been looked upon with a somewhat jealous attention.

Notwithstanding this fact, the opinion had become more and more prevalent, for some years previous to 1837, that the schools had fallen from their original high condition; that they were not what they had been, nor what they were intended to be; still less were they what they might be, and ought to be. There was no resisting this conviction. The facts were too notorious to be kept out of sight. And though people love to deceive themselves, and to cry, all is well, when all is not well, the time had come when they could deceive themselves no longer.

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* *Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education; together with the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 200.

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Efforts were accordingly made, for several successive years, to procure the appointment by the Legislature, of an officer who should have charge of the Common Schools, as superintendent. This, however, was not exactly in keeping with the mode of action which had always prevailed, and which had grown into an inveterate habit. Massachusetts has the distinction, — we think it a glorious one, — of being the most fully represented of any equal population under Heaven. In its legislation, every measure of importance must be discussed by a body of more than 350, representing every town; it must pass in revision before another body of forty, coming from the counties; it must receive the sanction of a Governor, elected by all the people, and aided by a Council of nine, representing, as nearly as possible, every interest and every section of the State. It would have been strange, if a State so highly valuing the privilege of equal representation, and so thoroughly understanding the advantages of collected wisdom, should have so far departed from its uniform policy as to commit an interest of such magnitude to the unaided, unadvised action of an individual. It was natural therefore, that, instead of a superintendent of Common Schools, a Board of Education should be appointed, to take especial charge of the welfare of the schools, and it was equally natural that the Board should act through a secretary. There was still to be the many for deliberation, and the one for action. Thus, moreover, was secured a representation, in the Board, of the various sections of the State. The annual retirement of one member gives to each successive Executive a voice in its constitution; and already four chief magistrates, differing as much in opinion, in religious belief, in previous education and in political preferences, as four successive officers usually do, have exercised the power of appointment. With such safeguards, a particular set of opinions or prejudices cannot easily continue long to control the action of the Board.

The effectiveness of the Board must of course depend upon its secretary. To say that they were very fortunate in their appointment, would be to say very little. Every one who has read the Annual Reports and the volumes of School Returns, which have come out under his superintendence, or from his pen, will admit that it would be

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difficult to find elsewhere documents of equal value, upon all matters relating to the condition and advancement of schools.

To the former reports of the Board and of their secretary we have already called the attention of our readers. Those now before us are, to say the least, not less interesting than any of their predecessors. The special subjects of the Secretary's Report may be inferred from the circumstances under which it was prepared. Having inspected schools, as he tells us, "in most of the free States, and in several of the slave States of the Union," he became desirous of comparing their condition with that of schools abroad, and of availing himself of whatever light a visit to Europe might throw on the great subject of education. During an absence of six months the last year, he was diligently employed in examining the institutions for public instruction in Great Britain and Ireland, and on the continent, and the result of his labors is presented in this Report.

There are many passages in the Report of extreme interest, which we should be glad to transfer to our pages. Such are those describing the methods used to teach the deaf and dumb to speak, the luxurious ventilation of the British Houses of Parliament, the activity of the Scotch teachers, the school of J. H. Wichern, near Hamburgh, the account given of the venerable Von Türk, and particularly of the subjects taught and the modes of teaching in the best schools of Germany. We must however hasten to a subject of more immediately practical importance, which is prominently suggested by the observations of Mr. Mann. In summing up the conclusions to which he had been led, he says: —

"On reviewing a period of six weeks, the greater part of which I spent in visiting schools in the north and middle of Prussia and in Saxony, (excepting of course the time occupied in going from place to place,) entering the schools to hear the first recitation in the morning, and remaining until the last was completed at night, I call to mind three things about which I cannot be mistaken. In some of my opinions and inferences I may have erred, but of the following facts there can be no doubt: —

1. During all this time, I never saw a teacher hearing a lesson of any kind, (excepting a reading or spelling lesson,) *with a book in his hand.*

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2. I never saw a teacher *sitting*, while hearing a recitation.

3. Though I saw hundreds of schools, and thousands, — I think I may say, within bounds, tens of thousands of pupils, — *I never saw one child undergoing punishment, or arraigned for misconduct. I never saw one child in tears from having been punished, or from fear of being punished.*" — pp. 132, 133.

Now a question of great interest, which immediately occurs, is, whether it is possible, in any part of Massachusetts, — in Boston, for example, — to manage the schools on the principles and according to the spirit here indicated. There can be no doubt that this is practicable, and indeed perfectly easy, in schools made up of the children of parents of intelligence and high moral feeling. Probably all the private schools for girls, and many of the private schools for boys, in Boston and other large towns, have long been so managed. It would be comparatively easy in a retired district in the country, where the children were all known to each other, and belonged to families that had grown up together, and where the teacher was well known to all the parents, and enjoyed their respect and confidence. It would be comparatively easy in schools so arranged, that each teacher should have but one single class, and each class the whole of one room. It would be perfectly easy, if the teacher, so situated, were a person of the highest character, with qualities to win the affection and command the sincere respect of his pupils, and if he had such a peculiar fitness, and had received such a thorough, special education for the duties of his office, that he could stand before his class and carry on the instruction, without a book, from the beginning of the session to the end.

Such, as we learn from Mr. Mann's Report and from other sources, are the conditions of the teachers and schools in Prussia. The population, even in the largest towns, has a permanence and fixedness, a oneness of origin and of character, totally unknown in even the most secluded village of New England. The position of the teacher is defined and secured by law; he is a king's officer, and sustained by other officers, whose business it is to bring children to school, when necessary, and to visit the parents of those who are absent or negligent. The teachers have been selected for their peculiar fitness to teach. They have all been educated by a three years' course of instruc-

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tion in the very branches which they are to teach, and in the art of ordering and governing a school. The course of instruction at the schools is a perfectly arranged and subordinated system, directed by the first officers in the kingdom. The schoolhouses are built with express reference to this system, each teacher having charge of one class, and exclusive use and control of one apartment.

How wide is the difference between this state of things and that which has established itself amongst us. Our population is nowhere permanent. Not only are our people continually migrating from town to town and from State to State, but the population from which the public schools in our large towns are in a considerable degree replenished, is constantly oscillating, like tide-waves, from one part of the town to another. The materials are as discordant and incongruous, as heterogeneous, and foreign in origin, as they are variable and inconstant in residence. With a small, precious leaven of sober citizens, occupying the ancestral house from generation to generation, we have the sharp Yankee, who has moved from the country to enlarge his horizon in a larger town; the self-sufficing Englishman, determined and thoughtful, like ourselves, and not always more sober; the shrewd, quick-witted Scot, resolved to push his fortune; the gentle, industrious German; the generous, impulsive Irishman; the civil, fickle Frenchman, who has come here to teach us politeness, fencing, and the universal language; the sad-faced Italian, exiled for opinion, striving to resign himself to make or sell pictures, marble ornaments, or plaster casts; with a large, muddy infusion from the poorhouses of England and Ireland. The children of all these, and more, meet together in our schools. There they must be ruled by one man, and by one set of laws; they must there, if at all, and any where, be amalgamated. They *must be* admitted. Their fathers now, and, in a few years, themselves, will be admitted to the ballot-box; and if they are not to come thither through the schools, we of the Yankee race must become, — so rapidly are their numbers increasing, — their slaves. These children congregate, two or three hundred together, into a single room. In that one room all are to be taught, by four or five teachers in one apartment, from the age of seven to fourteen. They remain in this room

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one half of each day. During the other half, they go, all together, into another room, governed by another set of teachers, with an independent authority, and possibly a different set of regulations.

Many of the teachers, so far from having been educated to be teachers, and selected for their peculiar fitness for the calling, have learned to teach by their own practice, and have sometimes selected themselves, in consequence of their discovered unfitness for any other pursuit. As a class, in those towns in which the schools are permanent, they are certainly as respectable, for their character and attainments, as the average of any other class. In those districts where the salary is high, they have usually been selected for their previous success in teaching and governing in other lower schools. From personal knowledge we declare that many of them are men of admirable character. But, in the selection of teachers, intellectual fitness has usually been more regarded than moral. Indeed those moral qualifications, which, according to the Prussian standard, and according to the Christian standard, are, and of right ought to be, most essential, have, not unfrequently, been disregarded. Passionateness has not been, as it ought to be, considered an absolute disqualification. Gentle firmness, self-control, affectionateness, sympathy for children, and the power of winning their confidence and love, and of interesting their feelings and exciting their curiosity, have been considered less essential than knowledge of arithmetic and grammar. "As a general fact," as Mr. Mann says, "these teachers are as good as public opinion has demanded; as good as the public sentiment has been disposed to appreciate; as good as public liberality has been ready to reward; as good as the preliminary measures taken to qualify them would authorize us to expect." But, they being such as they are, so imperfectly prepared, so unfavorably situated, with their attention so divided, with authority often so conflicting, and ruling over schools made up of such discordant elements, — is it reasonable to expect them to govern by the same principles, and with the same gentle sway, as the teachers in the national schools of Prussia? Is it reasonable to expect them entirely to dispense with corporal punishment? We think, — we say it without hesitation, and after most mature deliberation, —

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it is not reasonable. Corporal punishment must be allowed and occasionally used.

"In almost every German school into which I entered," says Mr. Mann, "I inquired whether corporal punishment were allowed or used, and I was uniformly answered in the affirmative. But it was further said, that though all teachers had liberty to use it, yet cases of its occurrence were very rare, and these cases were confined almost wholly to young scholars. Until the teacher had time to establish the relation of affection between himself and the new-comer into his school, until he had time to create that attachment which children always feel towards any one who, day after day, supplies them with novel and pleasing ideas, it was occasionally necessary to restrain and punish them. But after a short time, a love of the teacher and a love of knowledge become a substitute, — how admirable a one? — for punishment. When I asked my common question of Dr. Vogel of Leipsic, he answered, that it was still used in the schools of which he had the superintendence. 'But,' added he, 'thank God, it is used less and less, and when we teachers become fully competent to our work, it will cease altogether.'" — pp. 140, 141.

Now the "new-comers," in our schools, are always numerous, and many of the children do not remain long enough at one school for attachment to be created. In more favorable circumstances, — in the case of schools made up of children attending regularly from term to term, we heartily concur in opinion with Dr. Vogel: "when we teachers become fully competent to our work, the necessity of corporal punishment will cease altogether."

We believe that at present, in all the public schools, corporal punishment must be allowed; and that its allowance and occasional use are not only more favorable to good order and despatch of business, but even to a mild, gentle and merciful government, than its prohibition would be. As long as the master has the power to punish in his hands, and it is known that he has, occasions may seldom occur for his being desirous, or obliged to use it. As soon as it should be once known that the power was taken from him, a spirit of insubordination would be almost sure to arise among those boys who were worst disposed, and worst governed at home, which would make it almost impossible to get on without some punishment worse and more severe than the usual forms of corporal punishment. Who, that values the moral character of his child, would not prefer to

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have him moderately flagellated, rather than shamed, or flattered, or coaxed, or bribed, to do his duty?

But corporal punishment, if used, must be used with discretion, infrequently, without passion, and with great moderation. And it should, we think, be used only as the last resort. Every case should, of course, as we believe is now the practice in some schools, be recorded on the books of the school, and reported to the visiting committee; and a single instance of passionate, cruel, or vindictive punishment, on the part of the master, ought to be considered as nearly a disqualification for his office as any one single act or omission whatever. We state these limitations with some hesitation. The teacher, to produce any good effect upon the character of his pupils, must be a person deserving and receiving the respect and confidence of the school committee and of the public. This is as essential to his usefulness as it is to his happiness. If he is not deserving of confidence, let him be removed from his office. As long as he is continued in it, let him be treated as one on whom we implicitly rely. The condition of a public teacher is a difficult and laborious one, even in the most favorable case, when all surrounding circumstances are propitious, and he is honored, respected, and trusted by his employers. But when he become an object of distrust, of misrepresentation, and slander, his situation is as intolerable as it is profitless. If he ought to be dismissed for *known* cruelty or vindictiveness, as he certainly ought, in a community where the physical health or moral welfare of children is duly regarded, we parents, on our part, should be very slow to suspect him of anything so inhuman.

There are doubtless those who think it unreasonable that the teachers of our children should be judged by a higher standard than the makers of our houses or apparel, the managers of our property, or those whom we meet in any other of the common relations of life. But is it not right that we should require in each those qualities which are peculiarly desirable in his vocation? Is it any more unreasonable to require gentleness, habitual self-control, mercifulness, and the absence of the ferocious passions, in the teachers and exemplars of our children, than that we should require skill in accounts in the officers of a bank, or taste and ingenuity in an architect? Would it be wrong to

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say to a teacher of a stern, passionate, and vindictive character, that he had mistaken his calling; that he should go elsewhere, and exercise his faculties in some situation where there should be none, not even brute animals, to suffer from the faults of his bad disposition?

We are aware, too, that there is an opinion not uncommon among the best of the old and experienced teachers, that previous instruction in the art of teaching is unnecessary; that time devoted to it would be lost, and that an individual gifted with a talent for teaching, will teach as well without instruction as he would have done, with it. This opinion is perfectly natural. It is like what would be entertained by members of any other profession, in similar circumstances. If we could find a State in which all the practitioners in the courts of justice had entered the profession without previous study, had acquired their skill only by long continued practice, and had grown up, as doubtless men so situated would, to greater or less eminence and ability; showing, as some of them would show, great acuteness, penetration, and knowledge of the law; an individual who should go among them and declare that they had not been properly educated, that each one of them ought to have studied at least three years at a law college or in an office, before being permitted to undertake to manage a cause, would certainly be regarded by the greater part of the profession, as a bold, intemperate innovator, whose opinions were entitled to little consideration. How triumphantly would they appeal to the professional ability of some their own number, in contrast with the poor mediocrity of some imbecile limb of the law, in a contiguous State, where the regular introductory noviciate was prescribed and enforced.

Now is it anything strange that school-masters, who are conscious of capacity and skill in their calling, and have been rewarded by success, should sneer at those who say that there is a better way of making teachers than the old, established way? Or is it strange, that many persons in the community, having derived signal benefit, perhaps, in their own persons, or in those of their children, from the able instruction of teachers, who without any special preparation have justly attained an eminent standing, — should join with these teachers in doubting whether any good is to follow a departure from an established and ap-

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proved usage? But the question is not, whether an uneducated Patrick Henry can be a more eloquent pleader than an educated dunce; nor is it, whether many, in every profession, would not do well without special education. The question is, whether by an uneducated bar and bench the cause of justice in general, and in particular cases, would be so well sustained and advanced, as by a profession, all the members of which had been thoroughly educated, before the beginning of their professional life, to a knowledge of the principles of law and the practices of lawyers. Would the health of the community, on the whole, be more safe in the hands of a medical profession which had guessed out the facts of the human constitution, and the native properties of all substances, by mother-wit and hints borrowed from experienced old women and Indian doctors, or of those who by long-continued and patient study had made themselves familiar with the laws of Physiology, Anatomy and Surgery, and the conclusions of observers as to the virtues of mineral and vegetable substances in the cure of disease? The question in the case of the schoolmaster is, whether instruction, on the whole, will be best given by persons taken at random from all the various callings of society, and gaining wisdom by the slow process of their own experience; or by persons selected for the fitness of their character, and instructed, by a regular course of studies, in the laws of the human mind, and the principles of the sciences and arts to be taught, and made familiar with the modes of teaching that have been found, by other teachers, most successful.

We have thus touched, in a most cursory manner, upon one or two of the points which Mr. Mann's Report suggests to our consideration. We should have been glad to go much more fully into these, and to discuss many others, of equal importance. But we are admonished that we are transcending the limits prescribed by the printer. Mr. Mann's Reports are too well known to need our commendation. They have gone on, increasing in interest, from the first to the last. We recommend this Seventh Report to our readers. They will find it, — or we are much deceived, — the most remarkable document upon education which has appeared in Massachusetts. G. B. E.

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NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Justin Martyr: his Life, Writings, and Opinions; By the Rev. CHARLES SEMISCH, of Trebnitz, Silesia. Translated from the German, with the Author's Concurrence, by J. E. Ryland. Edinburgh. 1843. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 348 and 387.

THESE volumes are the fruit of much labor, and though they lead to no new results in regard to the life, character, position, and writings of Justin, yet in some particulars they contain a useful summary of his views, while in others, they present a most distorted representation of them. The best parts are those which relate to his mode of defending Christianity and his attacks on Judaism and Heathenism, Vol. I. pp. 306–332, and Vol. II. pp. 1–128. From these, the careful reader will learn, not what arguments for the truth and Divine origin of Christianity are most solid, but what arguments presented themselves to the mind of a well educated Christian of the second century, and what he considered as most valid against the objections urged in his day. How miracles were regarded, appears from Vol. II. pp. 100–128. This part is well executed. The writer's statement of Justin's doctrine of the *Logos*, Vol. II. pp. 165–206, has in it many features of truth, but when he comes to trace this doctrine to its source, he is wholly at fault. Thus he is unwilling to allow that Justin borrowed either from Plato, or from the writings of Philo and the Alexandrian Platonists, though he is compelled occasionally to make some concessions, "not," says he, with studied caution, that Justin and the other fathers "had mixed the gnosis of Philo with the substance of their biblical belief; they had only poured the contents of the Scriptures into a Philonian vessel; they viewed the Biblical passages through a Philonian medium." "The matter of their idea of the Logos is essentially Scriptural; but its construction betrays a Philonian ground-plan." The chapter on the holy spirit contains a total misrepresentation of the opinions of Justin. It is, from beginning to end, a tissue of bad reasoning, and false and contradictory statement. The chapter on Justin's "Doctrine of Salvation," too, contains several misstatements of his views. The writer's general estimate of Justin's literary and intellectual character, however, is sufficiently correct, and the work, to one who knows how to use it, may form a profitable study. But the worst of it is, that a person must be already well acquainted with the writings and opinions of Justin, in order to distinguish what is true from what is false in its statements. L.

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The Life of James Arminius, D. D., formerly Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. Compiled from his Life and Writings, as published by Mr. James Nichols. By NATHAN BANGS, D. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1843. 12mo. pp. 288.

BY a large portion of the religious public the name of Arminius was long pronounced with a sort of pious horror. About the middle of the sixteenth century, or a little earlier, the subtle and active genius of John Calvin gave currency to the "horrible decree," of predestination, — for so Calvin himself, its great advocate, calls it. As numbers of theological students, from different parts of Europe, resorted to the Academy at Geneva, this doctrine extensively spread. It penetrated the United Provinces, and was taught in the Universities, then recently established there, and especially at Leyden, where it found an unflinching advocate in the celebrated Francis Gomar. It was, however, powerfully attacked by Arminius, with whom many men of great learning and influence in Holland coincided in sentiment. The decision of the controversy was finally referred to the Council of Dort, which assembled in 1618. Before this Council everything was carried by violence, and the Arminians, or Remonstrants, as they were called, were condemned, without being allowed a seat in the Assembly, or an opportunity of freely discussing in its presence the subject in dispute. From that time, though Arminian sentiments became widely diffused on the continent and in England, no effort was spared on the part of the victorious party to render the designation of "Arminian" odious, and the result corresponded to the effort.

The object of the present publication appears to be, to rescue the name of Arminius from undeserved reproach, and enable the public to become acquainted with his real sentiments, and the eminent service he rendered to the cause of freedom of thought and inquiry. It is professedly a compilation, or we should rather say, a series of extracts, from the larger work of James Nichols; the compiler, Dr. Bangs, doing little more than furnishing the necessary connecting links, and occasionally a short summary. The book is not an attractive one, and from the frequent reference, which the subject requires to the knotty points of polemical theology, could not be made such. Yet we hesitate not to pronounce it one of the most valuable which have been issued from the press of the Harpers, prolific as that press has been in works of distinguished merit. It places before the public a great mass of information nowhere else easily accessible. No inconsiderable part of it is made up of the writings of Arminius himself. His letters, some of which are given, will be read with interest, and his Address to the States

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of Holland, which fills nearly one hundred pages, and in which he enters into an exposition and refutation of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and makes a full declaration of his own sentiments, is alone worth the price of the whole volume.

Dr. Bangs, in his preface, and towards the conclusion of the volume, speaks of the diffusion of Arminian sentiments and their adoption, with a very slight shade of difference, by Wesley, the founder of the numerous body of Wesleyan Methodists. He quotes Wesley as saying, that one might as well cry "mad dog," as "call a man an Arminian." Yet, he adds:—

"Arminius taught the same doctrines as those afterwards promulgated by John Wesley, and as now held by a great portion of the Christian world; and in the declaration of his sentiments before the States of Holland, he makes it manifest that they were uniformly the doctrines of the Christian Church until the days of St. Augustine. This African bishop, having been strongly imbued with the Aristotelian philosophy before his conversion to Christianity, in some of his writings introduced the novel doctrine of unconditional predestination, which was afterwards reduced to a more regular system by the ingenuity of John Calvin."

James Arminius, or Hermann, as he was called in the language of his country, was born at Oudewater, in Holland, in 1560. While he was quite an infant, his father died, and his mother being in straitened circumstances, young Arminius, when in his fifteenth year, was enabled by the aid of a munificent friend, to enter the University of Marpurgh. His native town was soon after laid in ashes by the Spaniards, and his mother, sister, brother, and all his relations were among the slain. He afterwards studied at Leyden, where a University had been founded in 1575; and subsequently at Geneva, under Theodore Beza, a celebrated pupil of Calvin. Disliking the spirit of intolerance which prevailed there, he after some time left, and went to the University of Basle, though he again returned to Geneva. He visited Italy, and was finally settled in the ministry at Amsterdam, where he was admired for his abilities and honored for his piety. Having been requested to answer a pamphlet which contained an attack on the opinions of Calvin, he applied himself to the task, but the result was that he became a convert to the doctrines of the pamphlet. He was nominated to a Professorship at Leyden, and after much controversy and long delay, he received and accepted the appointment. He distinguished himself in the discharge of the duties of his Professorship, but the enmity of Gomar, which for a short time had slumbered, revived; his sentiments were misrepresented, and made the subject of calumnious charges, and his great labors and the sensitiveness of his nature, which caused him to suffer from the incessant attacks of his enemies, are said

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to have hastened his death. He died of a lingering and complicated disease, but perfectly composed and full of trust, in 1609.

The services of Arminius would be very imperfectly estimated, if we should suppose them confined to a refutation of the ultra dogmas of the Genevan reformer. Posterity and the world are indebted to him as one of the great and good men, who manfully resisted the tyranny of opinion and theological intolerance of his age; and unlike Calvin, who instigated the burning of heretics, was the strenuous advocate of moderation and forbearance in regard to "religious differences." L.

An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ. Faithfully collected out of the Fathers and Extant Writings of those Ages. By PETER KING, Lord High Chancellor of England. With an Introduction, by the American Editor. New York. 1841. 12mo. pp. 300.

An Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ. By Lord PETER KING. In two parts. Part I. with remarks and an Appendix; the whole comprising an Abridgment of an "Original Draught of the Primitive Church," in Answer to the above-mentioned Discourse. By a Clergyman of the Church of England. London. 1843. 8vo. pp. 391.

WE can sympathize with any one who may have had the misfortune, at the expense of three dollars, to send across the Atlantic for the volume last named, supposing it to contain the entire work of Sir Peter King on the Primitive Church. It turns out to be only a part of his celebrated "Inquiry," — a fact not noticed in those English advertisements, which had fallen under our eye. The whole had been republished in England, in 1839. But the work, in the view of the Church of England editor of the present volume, favoring the "cause of Separatists," he issues this volume, with Notes, and an Appendix, taken mostly from Slater, author of the "Original Draught," written in Reply to Lord King's book, and containing as he thinks an antidote to its poison. Sir Peter did not find Diocesan Episcopacy, or High Churchism, in the Primitive Church, for a very good reason; it was not there. And for the same reason, though his work has been replied to, it has never been refuted, and cannot be, — no, not with the help of false renderings of the Greek of the Fathers, to which Slater resorts, and which the

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present editor is not ashamed to endorse. Here is some defect either of scholarship, or of honesty.

The volume named first at the head of this notice, is an American reprint of the entire work of Sir Peter King, and we recommend it to all who are desirous of obtaining information concerning the constitution, discipline, and worship of the Primitive Church. We do not undertake to say, that no error or blemish can be detected in the work; but taken all in all, it presents a singularly impartial view of Primitive Christian Antiquity, so far as it professes to treat of it. It may be proper to mention that the American edition comes out under the auspices of the "Methodist Episcopal Church." We wish that some of our American publishers would give us a reprint of the "History of the Apostles' Creed," by the same author. There was a reprint of it made at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1804, curtailed, however, of the quotations and authorities by which the writer had supported his views. The whole should be retained, and we scarcely know a work the republication of which would be more timely. L.

The Kingdom of Christ Delineated, in Two Essays; on Our Lord's own Account of his Person and of the Nature of his Kingdom; and on the Constitution, Powers, and Ministry of a Christian Church, as appointed by himself. By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. From the London Edition, with additions. Philadelphia. 1843. 8vo. pp. 93.

WE consider this as decidedly the most interesting and important work that has reached us in connexion with the Puseyite controversy. It consists of two Essays on the constitution, government, and discipline of a Christian Church; in which are exposed the absurdity and pernicious consequences of the High Church principles taught at Oxford, and attempted to be forced upon the Episcopal Church in this country. It is written with all the dialectic skill, for which its author is celebrated, and with a truly candid and Christian spirit; and we recommend it to the study of all who would see a clear, definite statement of the principles on which, according to this learned author, the Church as a community rests.

With his views of Apostolical authority, Archbishop Whately avoids the arrogant pretensions of the High Church party, who claim divine right for all the offices of the Church, and even the details of worship and discipline. The Scriptures give no specific instructions respecting the Ministry, Worship, or Government of the Church; — probably because God did not intend to

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bind individual churches in all subsequent time by regulations adapted to the then existing circumstances. The omission was by design. Churches were established, Elders appointed, and the ordinances administered: but we read nothing of Creeds, Catechisms, Liturgies, or of the modes in which the ministry must be exercised. Great principles are laid down; but the method in which they are to be carried out is left purposely undefined, that the application of them might always be modified by the demands of the occasion and the wants of the churches.

There are other things not merely omitted, but positively excluded from the Church. In it was no priest but Christ; no priesthood but the figurative priesthood of the whole body of believers; no sacrifice but that of the Redeemer himself; no temple but that in which the Divine Spirit dwelt, — the congregation of faithful worshippers. There was no subjection of Christians to one spiritual ruler on earth, no dominion over conscience, no employment of coercion in matters of religion, no subordination of one church to another. These are excluded from Christ's spiritual kingdom.

Over each separate church the Apostles appointed one person, called Angel, Elder, or Bishop. Church and Diocess were coextensive and identical; and each church was perfectly independent in itself, and competent to do for itself whatever might be necessary for its growth and well-being. The Apostles left no official successors, and Diocesan Episcopacy as now understood was unknown. Nay, it seems to us that the principles of this Essay fully justify our own Congregationalism; for it is asserted, that when Christians are connected with a church, which in their opinion departs from the right faith and practice, it is the duty of such Christians to forsake such church. The absurd pretension of Apostolical succession is fully discussed and confuted, and the authority to preach and administer the ordinances is shown to rest not on such succession, but on the fact that the individual performing those acts is the regularly appointed officer of a regular Christian community. Several other topics are discussed; such as the authority of the so-called Christian Fathers, of the Catholic Church, of Tradition, of Councils, the moral necessity for separation, and the right method of constituting church government and order. All these have a practical bearing upon the existing controversy among the Episcopalians, nor are they without interest to us. The foundation on which the Church of Christ rests; the principles according to which it is to be governed; and the claims of those who administer its ordinances, these are the chief topics of the Essay, and are treated with ability and candor, making the work an interesting and important contribution to our modern theological literature. M.

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The Library of American Biography. Conducted by JARED SPARKS. Second Series. Vol. I. Boston: Little & Brown. 1844. 12mo. pp. 398.

WE notice with pleasure the commencement of a second series of American Biography, conducted by Professor Sparks. Mr. Sparks's name affords a sufficient guaranty for its merits. Of the present volume we need only say, that it contains two well written Lives, one of Robert Cavelier De La Salle, a man of large capacity, and fertile in resources, to whom "must be mainly ascribed the discovery of the vast regions of the Mississippi Valley," — by Mr. Sparks; the other of Patrick Henry, a discriminating and attractive biography, by Mr. Alexander H. Everett. L.

An Address, delivered before the Society of Alumni of Williams College, at the Celebration of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary, August 10, 1843. By MARK HOPKINS, D. D., President of the College. Second edition. Boston. 1843. 8vo. pp. 40.

An Address, delivered before the Society of Alumni of Williams College, at their Twenty-second Anniversary, August 16, 1843. By THOMAS ROBBINS, D. D., Pastor of a Church in Rochester, Mass. Boston. 1843. 8vo. pp. 51.

WE have read the Address of President Hopkins with great interest. The subject of which it treats, the "Law of Progress," was naturally suggested by the writer's position, and the occasion on which he spoke. What is the true idea of progress, and what is its law? These topics, the latter especially, are discussed at some length. We confess, however, that the latter part of the Address, which relates more particularly to transactions connected with the College, is that which has most interested us.

More than one thousand individuals have been educated at Williams College during the fifty years of its existence.

The author claims for the Society of the Alumni of this College the honor of being the "first association of the kind in this country, certainly the first which acted efficiently, and called forth literary addresses." This Society was formed September 5, 1821. The first oration was delivered before it in 1823. The example has been since followed, the author observes, by the graduates of other Colleges, and "last year, (1842) for the first time an alumnus orator was heard at Harvard and Yale; and one of these associations, I know, sprang directly from ours." The Alumni of Dartmouth listened to their first oration in 1843.

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Another "important idea" originating at Williams College, President Hopkins says, is "that embodied in the Horticultural and Landscape Gardening Association, the results of which are seen in the College garden, and in the garden around the Observatory," the labor, with slight exceptions, being performed by the students. To the same College, the President tells us, belongs the honor of having erected the first Astronomical Observatory on this continent. A Magnetic Observatory, also, has been built, and a very efficient Meteorological and Natural History Association has been formed. There, too, "American Missions had their origin," in a Society formed among the undergraduates, in 1808. This led to the formation of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." To the same source, according to President Hopkins, is to be traced the "American Bible Society."

The first annual catalogue, Dr. Robbins tells us in his Address, was printed in the fall of 1795. This, says he, "So far as I know, was the first catalogue of the members of a College that was printed." Yale followed the example the next year, having published its first triennial catalogue, in the form of a pamphlet, in 1778. The first at Harvard was published about the same time. "Previous [previously] to that time they were printed on a large sheet." The three Presidents of the College before Dr. Hopkins, were Fitch, Moore, and Griffin. L.

Address to the Alumni Association of Brown University, delivered in Providence, on their First Anniversary, September 5, 1843. By JOHN PITMAN. Providence. 1843. 8vo. pp. 64.

THIS Address, as was proper, it being the first of the kind delivered at Providence, deals mostly with history. We find in it a brief account of the origin of the Institution, chartered in 1764, and which subsequently took the name of Brown University. The charter is marked by great liberality, securing, indeed, to the Baptists the government of the College, by giving to them a majority in the two Boards, but expressly providing that "sectarian differences of opinion shall not make any part of the public or classical instruction." After stating the origin of the Institution, and the principles on which it was established, the author proceeds to give a slight sketch of its history, accompanied with a notice of several of its more distinguished sons, to the present time. It is creditable to the friends of Brown University, that since 1831 a fund of twenty-five thousand dollars has been raised by subscription, "for the purchase of books for the library, and philosophical and chemical apparatus." The

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Address derives a value from its historical character, and one good purpose such addresses will serve, if no other, is that of causing the early history of the institutions to which they refer, to be explored, and the results to be given to the public. L.

A Sermon, preached Sunday, September 24, 1843. By F. W. HOLLAND, Minister of the First Unitarian Society of Rochester. Rochester. 1843. 8vo. pp. 20.

THIS Discourse, the subject of which was suggested by a Mechanics' Fair holden during the week preceding its delivery, is on the "profitableness of labor;" not physical labor merely, though that comes in for a share of the author's commendation, but labor in its "higher forms," — intellectual labor, which has often brought an offering to lay at the foot of religion, and "spiritual labor," which leads to the attainment of religious knowledge and promotes Christian progress. The author writes in a fresh and animated style, and with a simplicity and directness which should mark all pulpit discourses. L.

A Discourse suggested by Weir's Picture of the Embarkation of the Pilgrims; delivered in the Unitarian Church, Washington, December 31, 1843. By S. G. BULFINCH. Washington. 1844. 8vo. pp. 13.

THERE is allusion, in this discourse, to the early history of the Puritans; and justice is done to the motives of those who crossed the ocean, to build here the temple of freedom; the nature of the freedom they sought is explained; their zeal in the cause of education noticed; and their reliance on God commended, as their "loftiest characteristic." From all, the proper lessons are derived, and the general reflections embodied in the discourse are such as the "work of art" recently "added to the decorations of our chief public edifice," at Washington, where it was delivered, would naturally suggest to a devout and reflecting mind. L.

Confession of Faith. A Sermon delivered at the West Church, in Boston, January 28, 1844. By C. A. BARTOL, its Junior Pastor. Published by request. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1844. 8vo. pp. 16.

THIS Sermon professes to be a Confession of Faith. By this, however, it is not to be understood that it contains an account

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of every one of the writer's theological opinions, articled, and numbered. It sets forth what he esteems to be the great fundamental principles of Christianity, — the principles on which all its other doctrines depend. The topics on which he chiefly insists are, first, a belief in the Infinite Spirit, God, Almighty, Father of angels and men; secondly, a belief in the Bible, through which God has spoken; thirdly, a belief in Christ, through whom God has manifested himself; fourthly, a belief in Divine influence, through which God is ever present with the soul; fifthly, the supreme importance of virtue. Though the nature of the subject precludes all novelty in the topics treated of, the discourse bears throughout the marks of a rich and original mind. P.

Evil Speaking. A Sermon preached in the Congregational Church in Tyngsborough, February 4, 1844. By HORATIO WOOD, Minister of that Church. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 16.

THIS Sermon is on an old and fruitful subject, — the nature, causes, and effects of "evil speaking," and the sinfulness of the habit. It is a plain, common sense discourse, of a kind to do good, if attentively listened to, and much more, if carefully read and applied. A sermon on so prevalent a vice can never be ill-timed, and we commend Mr. Wood's discourse to general perusal. L.

The Rights and Duties of Neighboring Churches. Two Sermons preached to the First Parish in Framingham, Sunday, February 11, 1844. By WILLIAM BARRY, Minister of the Parish. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 44.

THE subject of these discourses appears from the title-page which we have copied. The occasion of their delivery was a Letter, addressed to the Overseers of the Poor of the Town of Framingham, by Rev. James Johnston, minister of the Baptist Church in that town, in which he declines officiating at the Poor-House, because the Unitarian and Universalist ministers of the town were also invited in turn to officiate. The sermons contain a just rebuke of the spirit manifested in this proceeding. Mr. Barry has done right, we think, in preaching, and right in publishing them. Such examples of bigotry ought to be exposed, and the rights of neighboring churches and congregations, and the principles of Christian liberty, to be understood and vindicated. L.

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The Appeal of Religion to Men in Power. A Sermon, on Occasion of the late Calamity at Washington. By ORVILLE DEWEY, Pastor of the Church of the Messiah in New York. New York. 1844. 8vo. pp. 20.

THIS discourse is in an unusually stirring strain, and on an important theme, — "a theme," says Dr. Dewey, "that has as yet obtained no just place in our spiritual teachings; I mean *the appeal of religion and conscience to men in power.*" He does not accuse the dead; "if I had thought," he says in his preface, "that their characters rendered them liable to censure, as political or private men, I should not have preached this sermon." But the late mournful event on board the Princeton has its moral uses, and he proceeds to speak of the perils which attend the divorce of religion and morality from political action; of the need of a "reverence for God" in those "who stand in the place of God on earth:" of the temptations of high station; of the tremendous evils entailed on a nation by the elevation of corrupt or dissolute men to places of official dignity; of the alarming disregard, in modern times, of the connexion between religion and government; and the importance of attempting to "purify the sentiments and maxims" of the community, that the voice of conscience may be heard in our legislative halls, "enthroning itself in the seats of power." But it would be impossible to analyse the discourse; it is too eloquent for analysis, and we dismiss it in the hope, that being as it is, entirely free from all tinge of party politics, it may be read by all, and do good to all. It is mournful to believe that such preaching is needed, but never was such a want more faithfully supplied. L.

Religion, a Principle, not a Form. A Discourse, delivered on the Lord's Day, March 17, 1844, *in the First Congregational Unitarian Church, in Reference to the Question concerning the use of the Bible in the Public Schools.* By WILLIAM H. FURNESS. Philadelphia. 1844. 8vo. pp. 16.

MR. FURNESS always writes like an earnest man, and so he has written in this discourse, though some of the views expressed in it will not, probably, meet universal approbation. From a regard to the conscientious objections of the Roman Catholics, he would allow the use of the Bible to be discontinued in the public schools, on the ground that the Common, or Protestant Version does not, in their view, faithfully represent the original, and they complain of the hardship of having their children compelled to use it. He justifies this concession, however, on the principle of Christian love and the equal rights of

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all Christian sects. He expresses little respect for forms, but insists strenuously on the "substance, the principle, the living, practical power of religion" in the heart and life. He recognises the importance of giving special religious instruction to children, but this, he thinks, should be the work of "the Sabbath, or the church and Sunday school."

No doubt, the Catholic objection presents some real difficulties. They who may not be satisfied with the manner in which Mr. Furness meets them, or who may think that he decides hastily, will, at least, honor his frankness and Christian spirit, and we hope that a different spirit may never be carried into the controversy. L.

The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. A Sermon on the True Church of Christ. By R. C. WATERSTON. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 23.

IN this Discourse Mr. Waterston turns to the past and finds there three views respecting the kingdom of heaven, and the key necessary to open it; — the first connected with belief in "the infallibility of a church," the second, in "the infallibility of a creed," the third, in the necessity of "an inner spiritual life," which does not depend on "speculative opinions." This last view he illustrates at some length, and with ability, by an appeal to Scripture, observation, and history. Its soundness, we think, must appear to all who are willing to take plain and intelligible views of religion or the Bible. L.

An Address on Pauperism, its Extent, Causes, and the best Means of Prevention: delivered at the Church in Bowdoin Square, February 4, 1844. By R. C. WATERSTON. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 52.

AFTER adverting to the amount of pauperism in England, and the effect of the laws relating to it, and briefly noticing the early legislation of Massachusetts on the subject, Mr. Waterston proceeds, under the general heads above stated, to speak of it as now existing among ourselves, and gives a variety of details of much practical interest and importance. The Address is marked by that straight-forward good sense and philanthrophic spirit, which are characteristic of all Mr. Waterston's performances; and in the cities especially, to which many of its details have more particular reference, the views it presents of pauperism, and the proper and Christian treatment of it, furnish matter at once to stimulate and direct benevolent feeling. L.

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INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The Churches. — The changes in the ministry, which within a few years have become so common as to seriously impair the comfort as well as permanence of the pastoral relation, — so frequent indeed are they, that we scarcely felt the extravagance of Rev. Mr. Taylor's remark at a late public meeting, that "the minister should now be settled on horseback, and with his spurs on," — afford something for our record even in the short space of two months. The pulpits at Concord, and Manchester, N. H., have become vacant through the resignation of Rev. Messrs. Thomas and Wellington; the society at Manchester have given an invitation to Rev. Mr. Jones, late of Brighton, to succeed Mr. Wellington, which he has accepted. — Rev. Mr. Palfrey, recently of Grafton, has removed to Barnstable, to take charge of the church in that place. — Rev. Mr. Knapp, formerly of Lexington, has accepted a call from the congregation at Nantucket. — Rev. Mr. Harrington of Providence, R. I., is on the point of removal to Albany, N. Y., having received an invitation to become the minister of the new society in that city. This society have just purchased a meetinghouse formerly occupied by the Methodists, in a central part of the city, and mean to put it in a state of complete repair as well as of interior improvement. — The church at Syracuse, N. Y., feel severely the loss which they have suffered in the death of their late pastor, Rev. Mr. Storer. Their pulpit is at present supplied by Rev. Mr. Lord, formerly of Southboro'. — The congregation at Brooklyn, N. Y., have recently dedicated their beautiful "Church of the Saviour," and at the same time obtained the installation of Rev. Mr. Farley. We shall notice the services in our next number. — In Boston the only change we may mention is the demolition of the house in which the Second Church have long worshipped, to give place to a more sightly edifice. During the erection of their new house, the congregation meet in the Bulfinch Street church, on an invitation extended to them by that society.

A monthly meeting for Prayer and Conference has been established, for the benefit of our churches, and open to all members of our congregations. Two such meetings have been held, in the Bulfinch Street church, and future meetings will be held in different houses of public worship, as they may be offered for the purpose. The evening of the second Thursday in each month has been chosen as the most convenient time.

We cannot but esteem it a circumstance worthy of notice, and an indication of a change in the sentiment of our congregations, which we have long desired, in regard to a part of their public worship, that in one of the churches of this city, the South Congregational, and in two at least of the neighboring churches, the First Church in Roxbury, and the First in Dedham, the practice of depending on a choir occupying a section of a gallery, and often consisting only of

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scientific performers, has been laid aside, and what alone deserves the name of congregational music — singing, by the body of the worshippers, — has been adopted. A similar change is contemplated, as we learn, in other places, and we hope will prevail widely.

In the churches of this city, not belonging to our denomination, several changes have taken place. Rev. Mr. Winslow, of the Bowdoin Street Church, has taken a dismission from his pastoral charge, after earnest solicitation on the part of his people that he would remain with them. — Rev. Edward Beecher, late President of Illinois College, and formerly pastor of the Park Street Church in this city, has been installed over the Salem Street Society, lately under the charge of Rev. Mr. Towne. — Mr. Towne has been installed over a new congregation, at present worshipping in a hall in Tremont street, but who intend, as soon as may be, to erect a house of worship. — Rev. Clement W. Butler, of Georgetown, D. C., has accepted an invitation to the ministry of Grace Church, vacated by the removal of Rev. Mr. Clarke to Philadelphia. — A "new Episcopal parish has been recently organized" in the south part of the city, under the title of the Church of the Messiah, and Rev. George W. Randall of Fall River has accepted a call to the rectorship. — Rev. A. Bridemann, D. D., of Ohio, has accepted an invitation to take charge of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, of which Rev. Mr. Brandau was formerly pastor. — A new Methodist Society, we understand, has been recently gathered here. — A Mormonite congregation assemble every Sunday in a hall at the head of Franklin Street. — The *Christian Herald* informs us, that there are in Boston two "Adventist" societies, and one "Come-outer." The "Adventists," we presume, are the recipients of Mr. Miller's doctrine respecting the end of the world, which, as the latest date fixed by him for this event has passed, will no longer, we may hope, mislead the credulity of the ignorant, but will soon be forgotten, except for the instructive illustration it affords of human weakness. We know not who are meant by the "Come-outers," unless by this term is intended those persons who have for several Sundays past met at a hall in Washington street, to hear lectures and hold discussions on the institutions of the times and the reforms which are demanded. We do not understand that they take the name of a Christian assembly.

Benevolent Fraternity of Churches. — This excellent institution celebrated its tenth Anniversary on the evening of Fast-day, April 4, 1844, in the Federal street meetinghouse, in Boston; Hon. Richard Sullivan presiding. Prayer was offered by Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge. The Annual Report presented a very favorable view of the financial condition of the Fraternity, the more grateful from the contrast it afforded to the language of previous Reports. Within the last year the permanent debt, of more than $7,000, had been discharged, — by the sale of the Friend street Chapel, which since the erection of the much more commodious Chapel in Pitts street has not been used by the Fraternity, by the proceeds of a Fair conducted by ladies of the Church Green congregation in this city, amounting to $2,250, and by a subscription of $2,570, made principally in sums of $100, for the special purpose of extinguishing the debt. A floating debt also of $1,100, the excess of expenditures over the receipts of former years, had

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been paid, and the Fraternity commenced the present year (1844–45) free from all embarrassment; with the unincumbered possession of two Chapels, worth twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars; with the services of two Ministers-at-large, whose fidelity and competency have been proved by the large success which has attended their labors; with all the arrangements which their experience has enabled them to perfect for the conduct of their ministry; and with the confidence of the churches, evinced by the increase of their annual subscriptions to such an amount as will enable the Executive Committee in future to employ assistant ministers. The Report included large extracts from the semi-annual Reports of the Ministers-at-large, Rev. R. C. Waterston and J. T. Sargent, showing the character of the work in which they were engaged, the methods which they used or encouraged for its prosecution, and the benefits which were its results. Constant visiting from house to house, religious services on Sunday and during the week, Sunday Schools, numerously attended and supplied with excellent teachers, Sewing Schools, and Libraries for the use of the poor, were the principal means which they had adopted. The Report also insisted on the importance of the Chapels, noticed the closer connexion which had been established between the Ministry and the Fraternity by means of monthly visiting committees, and adverted to the labors of other Christian denominations for the religious instruction of the poor in this city, as well as of Unitarian efforts for the same end in other cities, both in this country and in England.

After the Report had been read by the Secretary, Rev. S. K. Lothrop, the meeting was addressed by Samuel Greele, Esq., of Boston, Rev. E. T. Taylor of the Bethel Church, Rev. F. T. Gray of the Bulfinch street Church, formerly one of the ministers to the poor, and Rev. C. F. Barnard of the Warren street Chapel. The remarks of these gentlemen were appropriate and animated, and all present must have left the house after an evening of high gratification.

Few institutions, we believe, have accomplished more real good, or have secured a greater promise of future efficiency, within ten years from their commencement, than this Fraternity of Churches. It did not give birth to the Ministry-at-large, but was formed to afford it permanent support, after its claim to such support had been satisfactorily established by Dr. Tuckerman and those who labored with him. Eleven Branches have been formed in as many of the congregations in this city, and from three other congregations annual subscriptions are received. These Branches are represented by delegates, who, according to the Act of incorporation, constitute the Fraternity, elect its officers, and appoint its ministers. At the meeting for the organization of the Board of the present year, held April 14, Hon. Richard Sullivan was re-elected President; Mr. Thomas Tarbell, Treasurer; Rev. James I. T. Coolidge was chosen Secretary, Rev. Mr. Lothrop declining a re-election; and Henry B. Rogers, Esq., and Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, the other members of the Executive Committee.

Free Church of Scotland. — Delegates from the body which have recently seceded from the Established Church of Scotland are now in this country, soliciting aid in the erection of houses of worship for the congregations which have forsaken their ancient kirks. Rev. Drs.

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Cunningham and Burns, Rev. Mr. Chalmers, and according to one statement which we have seen, Rev. Mr. Lewis and H. B. Furgerson, Esq., are the Delegates who have come to America on this errand. The three former have visited Boston, and preached in several of the churches, besides making such representations of the trials of the "Free Church" as were suited to enlist the sympathies of their hearers. The appeal may seem to many of our citizens a strong one, but apart from other reasons to the same effect, we cannot overlook one decisive objection against affording the assistance which is sought. The "Free Church of Scotland" is not wholly *free*, and does not wish to be. It cleaves to the principle of an Establishment, and rejects the "voluntary system," except as this is for the present forced upon it. Dr. Chalmers and other leaders in the warfare against lay patronage, or presentation to cures of persons not acceptable to the parishioners, maintain their right to receive support from the State, which they appear to regard in the light of a Trustee, whose duty it is to appropriate certain revenues to the benefit of the Church. It seems to us, that it would have been more decorous to have adopted the voluntary principle before making an appeal to our churches, all of which rest on this principle as the foundation of their independence and security. The Delegates, however, have met with a very cordial reception in this country.

What effect the disruption of the Scottish Church will have upon the theology of the land of Knox and the Covenanters, we are perhaps not competent even to hazard an opinion; but we confess we entertain little hope of a liberalizing influence proceeding from this movement. On the contrary, we are led to believe that Calvinism has of late years been assuming a more dogmatic tone than in the last generation, and our acquaintance with the phraseology of the times prompts us to interpret much of what is said about the revival of religion within the Scotch Kirk, in the sense of a more earnest inculcation of the doctrines of the Assembly's Catechism. A few years since we were informed on good authority, that the preaching of the clergy had become more decidedly Calvinistic, and we do not believe it has abated its severity in this respect under the circumstances which have resulted in disruption.

Ordination. — Mr. Charles Henry Brigham, of New York, who lately finished his studies for the ministry at the Divinity School in Cambridge, was ordained as Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Taunton, Mass., March 27, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, from John xviii. 37: the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Morison of New Bedford; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Putnam of Roxbury; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Allen of Roxbury; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence, R. I.; and the other services, by Rev. Mr. Ware of Fall River, Rev. Mr. Angier of Milton, and Rev. Mr. Gushee of Dighton.

Dedications. — The church which the Unitarian Society at Milwaukie, W. T., have lately erected, was dedicated, December 14, 1843. The services were conducted by Rev. Mr. Cushing, pastor of the Society, and Rev. Mr. Harrington of Chicago. Important assistance

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was received, in the erection of this church, from the Domestic Missionary Society of the First Parish of Medford, Mass.

The Church recently erected by the Unitarian congregation at Geneva, Ill., was dedicated December 24, 1843. The services were conducted by the Pastor of the Society, Rev. Mr. Conant, assisted by Elders Walworth of Belvidere, and Nicholson of Juliet, and Rev. Mr. Harrington of Chicago. Efficient aid was furnished to this society, in the erection of their house of worship, by the ladies of the First Congregational Society in Roxbury, Mass.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

New Works. — Leonard C. Bowles has just republished a 12mo volume, from the pen of Miss Martineau, which will carry comfort and instruction to many hearts. It contains a series of Essays, under the general title of "Life in the Sick-Room." To the American edition is prefixed a brief Introduction by Mrs. Follen.

A work of some importance, for the authority which will be accorded to its statements, and the circulation which it will have in Europe, is Rev. Dr. Baird's "Religion in America; an Account of the origin, progress, relation to the State, and present condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States; with notices of the Un-Evangelical Denominations." Dr. Baird has been for some time engaged upon this work, and we believe, has taken abundant pains to collect the facts which such an "Account" should exhibit, nor do we doubt that he has endeavored to write without the bias of sectarian attachment. The title, however, indicates the view which he is disposed to take of our denomination. The volumes are a revision of a work which had already appeared in England, and arrangements have been made for their translation into some of the languages of the Continent, where their author is favorably known by his exertions in behalf of Temperance.

Rev. Lyman Coleman, author of a work published two or three years since on the "Antiquities of the Christian Church," has recently issued a new volume, with the *ad captandum* title of "A Church without a Bishop. The Apostolical and Primitive Church, popular in its government, and simple in its worship." An introductory Essay is prefixed by Dr. Neander of Berlin. Mr. Coleman is a diligent man, but the opinion we have formed of his accuracy and candor from the evidences furnished by his previous work, would lead us to receive his statements with caution.

The first number of the "Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review," conducted by Professors Edwards and Park of Andover, "with the special co-operation" of Dr. Robinson and Professor Stuart, has lately appeared, and gives promise of a valuable addition to our religious periodical literature. The union of Latin and English in the title savors a little of pedantry, but the articles discover thorough scholarship and general ability. The editors wish that their journal, though it succeeds one conducted on a similar plan, should be considered an entirely new work.

We do not attempt to notice all the works — solid volumes some of them — which have had their origin in the interest awakened by

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the position in which the Episcopal Church has seen fit to place itself towards other Communions. The controversy waxes warmer within "the Church," and the assailants multiply their blows from without. Some good, we hope, will come from so much strife, and so much well and ill directed labor. We may, however, mention two books; — one, "Lectures on Church Government, containing objections to the Episcopal scheme," by Rev. Dr. Woods of Andover; and the other, "The Mysteries Opened, or Scriptural Views of preaching and the sacraments, as distinguished from certain theories concerning baptismal regeneration, and the real presence." The relations which the writers hold to the controversies of the day are indicated by the titles which we have quoted.

Sorin & Ball, of Philadelphia, have reprinted, in one 8vo volume, Tholuck's "Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans," translated by Rev. Robert Menzies; which was first published some years ago, in Edinburgh, as a part of the series of works having the general title of the "Biblical Cabinet."

Saxton & Miles, of New York, have issued, in an 18mo volume, "Lea, or the Baptism in Jordan. A Tale of the Church in the Second Century." By G. F. A. Strauss, the author of "Helon's Pilgrimage," and the still more celebrated "Life of Jesus." The translation of this Tale is made by Mrs. H. C. Conant.

We have noticed, with great satisfaction, in "The Present" for April, the announcement of the editor, that he intends to devote himself immediately to the preparation of the Memoir which we are most anxious to have given to the public. He says: —

"Notwithstanding the urgent requests of friends, for whose sympathy an expression of my gratitude is due, I find myself under the necessity of postponing the publication of another volume of the Present. The winter's experience has taught me, that the time and thought needed for any adequate discussion of the great subjects now beginning to interest the public conscience, encroach too much upon a near and sacred duty. It has fallen upon me, in connexion with his son, to prepare a memoir of William Ellery Channing. And until such justice is done, as is in my power to render to one, who was the spiritual father of so many, and to whom, under God, I owe what of humanity and hope is in me, I have no energies to spare for constant editorial labors. When that work is accomplished, if sufficient encouragement is given for resuming the Present, and should no more suitable mode of addressing the public be opened, another volume may appear."

James Munroe & Co. have in press a third volume of Livermore's Commentary on the New Testament, embracing the Book of Acts.

Rev. Benjamin Mardon, of London, proposes to publish by subscription a volume of "Contributions to Unitarian Biography and History; consisting of Letters from eminent Unitarians, Lardner, Lindsey, Priestley, Robinson, Toulmin, and others, with short accounts of the contributors, and explanatory notes." With such materials, and with his habits of research, Mr. Mardon will make an interesting volume.

We have seen announced, as in preparation, a volume of Discourses on Christian Doctrine, by Rev. Hubbard Winslow, late of the Bowdoin Street Church in this city; and also a larger volume of Lectures on Christian Character, with other Discourses on various subjects,

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doctrinal, experimental, and practical, by Rev. Joshua Bates, D. D. formerly President of Middlebury College.

A translation of an "Introduction to the New Testament" by Professor Guerike of Halle, is announced as in the hands of gentlemen connected with the Institutions at Hamilton, N. Y. and Newton, Mass.

Lowell Lectures. — The delivery of the annual courses of Lectures before the Lowell Institute has closed, and we believe that general satisfaction has been felt in the selection of the Lecturers who have the past winter been invited to carry out the intentions of the liberal Founder. The scientific lectures we did not attend, but the course given by President Hopkins of Williamstown, upon the Evidences of Revealed Religion, we heard in part, as our engagements would permit. And we express but our honest judgment, in which we believe his other auditors would concur, that he treated the subject worthily and ably. At first we felt some disappointment at the position in which he chose to place himself and his audience. It was not the position of an inquirer, but of a believer; not a position outside of Christianity, assumed for the purpose of viewing it independently of any bias of education or sympathy, but within the Christian system, where its truth and Divine origin were continually taken for granted, even when investigating their proofs. The Lectures were therefore more suited to please or confirm a Christian, than to convince or win an unbeliever or a skeptic. We doubted, and still doubt, whether it would not have been better for the Lecturer to have placed himself by the side of the infidel, and have shown that even from his point of view Christianity admits of ample vindication. Having however submitted our judgment to President Hopkins's upon this point, we could follow him with pleasure, increased by the instruction we were receiving, through his clear and strong statements of the ground on which the believer in a series of Divine revelations recorded in the Bible rests his faith, as on a rock planted immoveably in the midst of the ages. On a subject so thoroughly canvassed by powerful and learned writers, little that was new could be expected; and sometimes the discussion fell to the level of common-place remark. But it generally sustained a higher character, and at times struck us by a felicitous arrangement of thoughts which gave them the force of unworn arguments. We could not but notice with satisfaction the care which the Lecturer took to avoid the introduction of sectarian topics, by which the effect of his general argument might have been strengthened with some of his hearers, but which could have only been considered by others a deviation from the design of the Founder.

We cannot refrain from expressing our dissatisfaction with the arrangements made for the delivery of the Lowell Lectures in one respect, and that one of the first importance. It seems to us unaccountable, that provision is not made for a wider diffusion of the benefits designed by the late Mr. Lowell. We entertain not the slightest doubt that the Trustee means, and strives to fulfil the intentions of the will under which he acts; but its spirit, if not its letter, seems to require that means should be found for a more general enjoyment, by our citizens, of the opportunities for instruction em-

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braced within the terms of the bequest. Such means at once present themselves to view in an arrangement, by which the Lectures should be repeated in different parts of the city, to audiences who would be tempted to leave their homes by the vicinity of the lecture-room, but many of whom regard the loss of time and the inconvenience of distance, to both of which they are now subjected, sufficient reasons for not seeking even gratuitous instruction. By such an arrangement too the evil which is now felt, from the crowd of applicants for tickets, and the disappointment which many who are unsuccessful incur, would be avoided. The only objection that could arise, we conceive, would come from future Lecturers, who might regard it as an unreasonable requisition upon them, after the indulgence which has been shown to those who have preceded them. But if this indulgence has been unreasonable, and has been the result of circumstances that need no longer prevent the full execution of the Founder's wishes, the objection ought not to be urged, or if urged, should not be allowed. The sums paid to the Lowell Lecturers vastly exceed what has ever been paid by any other similar institution in this country, and it is but just that they should perform a greater amount of labor. We presume no one would say that the delivery of a lecture every evening of the week for four or six weeks would be an excessive duty to demand, as the condition of receiving a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars. In most instances, we believe, the Lectures before the Lowell Institute have been repeated once — in the same place, thus affording to both an afternoon and an evening audience the opportunity of hearing them; but in other instances, as in the case of the Lectures which we have just noticed by President Hopkins, the course was delivered but once.

Boston Atheneum. — The removal of this institution from Pearl street to a more central part of the city has been for some time in contemplation, and recently a committee of the proprietors has been appointed to make purchase of a suitable spot upon Tremont street. This has not as yet been effected, in consequence of the high price of the estates which would be covered by the new building; but these difficulties will probably be soon overcome. The removal of the Atheneum from its present situation becomes every year more desirable, as warehouses are erected in its immediate neighborhood, and Pearl street, once so quiet and pleasant, is converted into a noisy business street. An investigation of the financial condition of the institution has shown that the property is more valuable than has been generally supposed. It consists of the following items: — Real Estate in Pearl street, estimated at $38,441,71; Investments in stocks, $26,553,09; Fine Arts Department, $20,196,92; Library, $57,671,16; total $142,862,88. The value of the "Fine Arts Department," we were not prepared to find placed so high, though we understand it is founded on the actual cost. This "department has created itself; that is to say, it has been purchased from the proceeds of the annual exhibitions, and enriched by many valuable donations, such as Crawford's statue of Orpheus, the busts in marble of many distinguished men, etc." The Library contains 32,775 bound volumes, besides manuscripts, engravings, medals, etc., and includes many rare and expensive works. This property is owned by the holders of shares,

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which till the present time have been 263 in number. That the removal of the institution might be effected without the creation of a debt, it was proposed a few weeks since to raise the number of shares to 500, by the addition of 237, valued at $300 each, to be taken by new subscribers. In this way the sum of $71,100 would be added to the available means of the institution, and its whole property might then be estimated at nearly $214,000, which would give to each of the 500 shares a nominal, if not marketable value of about $430. We learn that the subscription for the new shares has been filled up, and the most confident hope may therefore be entertained that the Atheneum will diffuse its benefits much more widely than in past years. Its library, if we do not mistake, is, with two exceptions, those at Cambridge and Philadelphia, the largest in the United States.

Literary and Scientific Convention at Washington. — A Convention has recently been held at the seat of our national government, which was attended by eminent men from different parts of the country, and appears to have afforded much gratification to those who were present at its sessions. It was a Convention, not of politicians, but of men of science and letters; and was probably suggested by similar meetings which have of late years been held in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. The members assembled, at the invitation of the National Institute, on Monday, April 6, and continued together till the next Monday evening, holding two, and sometimes three sessions a day. The meetings were opened by prayer. On the first day President Tyler, on the last day Hon. J. Q. Adams, and on the intermediate days other distinguished men presided. The Introductory Essay was read by Hon. Mr. Walker of Mississippi, and the Concluding Address by Hon. Mr. Spencer of New York. A large number of papers were read by gentlemen present, on various subjects of scientific or literary interest, and on the last day's session communications were read from many gentlemen who could not give their personal attendance. The success which has followed this attempt — the first, we believe, which has been successful in the United states, — will probably lead to the assembling of such a Convention at Washington in future years.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Public Affairs. — Upon political proceedings we can remark, only as they serve to express or determine the moral sentiment of the country. We assume, what no Christian will have the face to deny, that political action, like all the other action of life among us, should be subjected to the control of religious principle. Public station cannot make that right which would be wrong in a private individual. Statesmen and legislators are bound by as strict a law of duty as the humblest citizen in the land. Plain as this is, and plain as it is that Christianity should exert a direct influence upon the whole machinery of the State, no vice is more common than the separation of politics from religion. Whether such separation be seen in the conduct of public men, or in the course taken by political parties, it is a sin which the organs of a correct tone of sentiment should expose and rebuke. We rejoice to believe that there are many

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religious men in Congress, but we fear that the majority care little for those sacred convictions of duty on which all sound legislation must rest. There are good men, we trust, in the public offices at Washington, but many seem to be governed by any purposes rather than those which spring from a sense of responsibleness to Divine Omniscience.

The mournful explosion on board the steamship Princeton, by which two of the principal officers of the Government, and other distinguished men, were instantly removed from their earthly engagements to a world in which they must render up their account to the Judge of all, ought to produce a permanent impression upon those who fill the high places of trust and honor. That event had other instruction, beside the signal proof which it presented of the insecurity of human life and the insufficiency of station as a shield against the arm of death. It taught the unerring force of Divine laws. So far from regarding this calamity as the result of a special Providence, we see in it a lesson of the deepest significance, of which such a view would deprive us. It has shown, that the laws of God's general Providence, under which we all live, cannot be violated with impunity. If men will construct instruments fraught with destruction, and either neglect the proper means of security against what we profanely call accident, or place themselves in jeopardy of life, God will not interpose to prevent the consequences of human folly. If he did, how would men ever learn to be wise? We regard the invention which the company on board the Princeton had met to admire, as a proof only of the unchristian character of modern civilization; and whether the explosion was the result of unfaithful construction or of rash confidence, it has added another to the innumerable proofs that man cannot set aside the inflexible laws which the Creator has established for the safety of the world.

The approaching election of President has already called intrigue and party organization to take the place of honest and independent action. Our preference, if we have any, for one candidate over another, is lost in the sorrow we feel at the thought, that whoever shall be the successful rival, will owe his election in a large measure to unworthy means, used, if not by himself, by his friends and partisans. Can we not have an election of Chief Magistrate, which shall not involve the sacrifice of moral principle on the part of thousands, and the disgrace of blind subjection to unprincipled leaders on the part of millions?

The most important and alarming intelligence from Washington concerns the proposal for the annexation of Texas to our Union. That such a project should have been entertained by the Government of the United States, and still more, that it should have been nearly carried to its consummation, is enough to make us hide our faces in the dust. We need not repeat the reasons, which should have prevailed, for its prompt rejection. Its bearing upon the question of Slavery should have been decisive. But this is only one of the objections to our listening for a moment to such a proposal. To accede to it would at once convict us of injustice and ambition, and would set deep the stain, which alas! is beginning to rest upon our national character.

The action of some of the State Legislatures has not been such as to meet the hopes of those who believe that right should be the

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supreme law of the government, as it is the highest good of the State.

In Massachusetts, we have seen a party which bestowed merited condemnation upon their predecessors in the control of the affairs of the Commonwealth, for reducing the salaries of the Judges of our Superior Courts, fail in administering equal justice, when themselves in power, by restoring all these salaries to their former amount. In consequence two of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas have sent in their resignations, and it is understood that the others have signified their intention to resign as their respective terms of Court shall expire. And so, for the paltry saving of a few hundred dollars, and for the sake of appeasing the senseless cry for "retrenchment," the Commonwealth is deprived of a whole bench of able and faithful administrators of the law. Let us however record as honorable to the Legislature which has just closed its session, that it had the rectitude and the courage to lay a State tax, to the overthrow — we wish it might be final — of that miserable policy, which by temporary loans and circuitous methods cheats the people into the belief that they pay nothing for the support of the Government, which, in view of the benefits it confers they ought, and if left to their own good sense, uninstructed by mischievous demagogues, they would consent, to support by direct contributions.

In other States the question of principal interest has related to the means which should be taken for the payment of the State debts. Our honor, and our integrity, without which there can be no honor, are deeply involved in the decisions that shall prevail upon this subject. Pennsylvania appears to be seriously engaged in devising means for redeeming her lost credit. But in one or two other States the course taken by the Legislature in adjourning without providing for the demands of the public creditors, must be as detrimental to the interests, as it is dishonorable to the character of the people who commit the care of their interests and character to such hands.

OBITUARY.

Benjamin Bakewell, Esq., died at Pittsburgh, Penn., February 19, 1844, aged 77 years. Mr. Bakewell was a native of Derby, in England, and came to this country in 1794, in company with Dr. Priestley. He took up his residence at Pittsburgh in 1808, where he remained till his death, pursuing an honorable business, and in various ways proving himself to be a useful citizen as well as a sincere Christian. The Unitarian church at Pittsburgh was built at his expense, and the larger part of the salary of the ministers who successively filled its pulpit was furnished by him. His character was unblemished, and notwithstanding his theological opinions, the integrity of his life and the amenity of his manners won universal respect and confidence. He was extensively known, and though he had retired from active life, his loss is widely and deeply felt. G.

Rev. John P. B. Storer, died at Syracuse, N. Y. March 17, 1844, aged 51 years. Mr. Storer was a native of Portland, Me., was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1812, and afterwards was a Tutor in that

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institution. He visited Europe in 1818, and after his return studied for the ministry at Cambridge. In 1824 he began to preach, and in 1826 accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Walpole, Mass. Here he pursued a most diligent and successful ministry, till the Divine Providence seemed to open before him a field of still greater usefulness at Syracuse, and in 1839 he removed thither, to take charge of the Unitarian Society which had recently been formed in that place. Here he devoted himself with his accustomed and untiring zeal to the duties of his office, and witnessed the effects in the increase of the congregation, followed by the erection of a much larger and neater house of worship than that in which he first preached to them. His influence spread through the whole region of Western New York. His health declined, as a disease of the heart gave more decided manifestations of its progress, and he felt the necessity of asking a temporary release from his labors, though with little hope of recovery. He had made all his arrangements for returning to New England, when, after retiring to bed as usual, he probably breathed his last in sleep, and was found the next morning without the least sign of struggle in the moment of departure. Mr. Storer's character presented many traits which endeared him to his friends, while they made him an example to his brethren, and secured for him the confidence of the community in which he lived; but nothing was more worthy of notice than his indefatigable prosecution of the work which he had undertaken as a minister of Christian truth. We will not attempt to delineate his various excellence, as in our next number we hope to present a picture of his worth drawn by another hand. G.

Rev. ISAAC ALLEN died at Bolton, Mass., March 18, 1844, aged 72 years. Mr. Allen was born in Weston, in this State, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1798, was for some time engaged in keeping school, but in March, 1804, was settled over the parish in Bolton, with which he remained as pastor till the day of his death, forty years from the time of his settlement. Till the last year he had discharged all the duties of the ministry, but then, as his infirmities increased, he accepted the assistance of a colleague. An injury, which he met with in his boyhood, made him lame for life. He was never married. He possessed a kindly temper, a generous heart, a ready humor, good judgment, and a simple, tranquil piety. He was not distinguished as a preacher, though his sermons were marked by good sense, sound theology, and practical application. As a pastor, he made himself intimate with his people, and was much beloved by them. For several months before his death he was confined to his room by paralysis. He left the property, which by prudent management he had accumulated, to the Society with which he had been so long connected, for the support of the Christian ministry. We hope in a future number to give a more full sketch of his character. G.

*** Several articles on hand, or intended for this number, we are obliged to omit, particularly a review of Mr. Peabody's Sermons on Christian Doctrine.

Erratum. — In our last number, page 170, line 20, the reader is requested to erase, in his copy, the clause — "but somewhat startling," — which was introduced by mistake in reading the proof.

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